

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/19/60

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

**CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY
OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.**

CG 5824-S* on May 15, 1960, orally furnished the
information on the following page to SA [redacted]. This
information was reduced to writing on May 19, 1960.

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b7C

2 - Bureau (RM)
5 - New York (RM)
1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)
1 - 100-80644 (CP, USA, Youth Matters) (415)
1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER) (415)
1 - 100-128255 (DANNY RUBIN) (415)
2 - Chicago
1 - A [redacted]

b7D

JEK:jem
(9)

Records: File cc w
100-3-76 (CP, USA - youth)
out

REC-31

100-3-69-7788

2 MAY 23 1960

ENCLOSURE

59 JUN 3 1960

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May 15, 1960

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, stated on May 15, 1960, that EV LUMER has been relieved of all responsibility in regard to youth work. DANNY RUBIN is now in charge of youth matters for the CP, USA.

100-3-69 778
-1-

May 15, 1960

PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, stated on May 15, 1960, that the National Office of the CP, USA, would like to release RUTH SHULMAN as an employee of the National Office. She has recently asked for a raise in salary.

BART also stated that the Party is suspicious of DOROTHY ROBINSON, who is WILLIAM L. PATTERSON's secretary. The suspicion is based on the fact that she wears a cross or religious medal. Also on one occasion she disappeared for several days and no one knew where she was. In addition, her daughter formerly worked in the office of the New York District. The daughter is married to a gambler. The daughter had the combination to the New York District Office safe. She and her husband broke into the safe and took \$1200. The money was obtained from dues payments, therefore, part of it belonged to the National Office. Only \$300 of this amount was recovered. It was also necessary to change the combination of the safe and the locks in the building which houses both the headquarters of the CP, USA, and the New York District. Every time anyone thinks of DOROTHY ROBINSON, they think of this incident involving her daughter and son-in-law.

100-3-69-7789

-1- ENCLOSURE

NY 100-80641

COPIES CONT'D

1 - NY 100-84994	(GUS HALL) (415)
1 - NY 100-5106	(CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (422)
1 - NY 100-16785	(JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-105078	(HYMAN LUMER) (415)
1 - NY 100-13203	(GEORGE MORRIS) (415)
1 - NY 100-48033	(IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-118174	(MILT ROSEN) (424)
1 - NY 100-18065	(JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY 100-26018	(LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)

May 12, 1960

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

An enlarged meeting of the National Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, USA was held in the national headquarters of the Communist Party, USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, on Thursday, May 12, 1960.

Persons in Attendance

The following persons were in attendance at this meeting:

PHIL BART
MORRIS CHILDS
BEN DAVIS
GUS HALL
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JIM JACKSON
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HY LUMER
GEORGE MORRIS
IRVING POTASH
MILT ROSEN
JACK STACHEL
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
CARL WINTER
JAMES WEST

JACK STACHEL stated that the National Trade Union Commission is composed of the following persons:

GUS HALL
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK

IRVING POTASH
MILT ROSEN
JACK STACHEL
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
CARL WINTER

The chairman of this meeting was IRVING POTASH.

Agenda

The following was the proposed agenda for this meeting:

- 1) Reports from the National Auto Commission and the National Steel Commission of the Communist Party, USA.
- 2) Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the preparations for the founding convention of the American Negro Labor Council.
- 3) Labor and peace--the AFL-CIO Foreign Affairs Conference.
- 4) The functioning of the National Trade Union Commission of the Communist Party, USA.

Items three and four of this agenda were not taken up, since the meeting adjourned for a reception for MAE WILLIAMSON of London, England. Also, this meeting, which was to have lasted for two days, was reduced to one day so that the meeting of the National Executive Committee could be extended to three days in view of recent international developments.

After the report from the National Auto Commission, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT asked to make his report, since he said that he had to leave the meeting. Privately, LIGHTFOOT stated that he was going to see EUGENE DENNIS. BEN DAVIS demanded to know where LIGHTFOOT was going. LIGHTFOOT replied that it was none of DAVIS' business, but that if he had to know, LIGHTFOOT was going

to see EUGENE DENNIS. LIGHTFOOT asked DAVIS if he didn't like this idea, but DAVIS made no reply.

Report from the National Auto Commission by CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER reported that the auto industry in the United States is unstable, and that there is a lot of discontent and ferment among the workers in this industry. Presently, there is the largest stock pile of automobiles in the hands of the dealers in the history of the United States. There is a tight market and great unemployment. He said that while the United Auto Workers Union consists of workers in automobile manufacturing, farm equipment manufacturing, and machine production, his remarks would deal mostly with the auto industry.

WINTER said that while the production of automobiles is greater than it has been at any time since 1955, this production is accompanied by declining employment and large profits for the corporations. Consequently, there is unrest among the workers. Speed-up and insecurity are the main features of the auto industry at this time. One-fourth of the small foreign cars imported into the United States are actually manufactured by United States corporations, specifically, the big three in the auto industry in the United States. These corporations own European plants. Last year, Western Europe produced four million automobiles, while the United States produced five and a half million automobiles. If the present trend continues, Western Europe will surpass the United States in auto production by 1962.

According to WINTER, the leadership of the UAW does not challenge the speed-up which prevails in the auto industry. Furthermore, the union leadership does not challenge the decentralization of plants and does nothing to have the workers, who lose jobs because of decentralization, compensated for this loss. Instead, the UAW leadership talks about organizing the

white collar workers. The UAW leadership is behaving like JOHN L. LEWIS in the 1930's when LEWIS cooperated with the mining companies in getting rid of workers who were described as excess baggage.

Continuing, WINTER said that there is a corps of one thousand workers in the auto industry in Michigan alone who are unemployed. Dues payments in the UAW have dropped. While the UAW speaks of a membership of one million, this figure is inflated. There is a deficit in the international fund of the UAW. While there is twenty-three million dollars in the strike fund of the UAW, this money is earmarked for a catastrophic situation, such as a prolonged strike.

WINTER said that in 1959 WALTER REUTHER made a big noise about action in behalf of the unemployed. In 1960, REUTHER has forgotten about the unemployed and is raising the issue of profit sharing. The Communist Party is critical of the profit-sharing approach. While the Communist Party does place emphasis on the enormous profits of the corporations, at the same time, the Party shows the workers that profit sharing is not a substitution for daily demands, higher wages, care of the unemployed, protest against speed-up, etc. The difference between the Communist Party and the leadership of the UAW is that the latter wants to substitute profit sharing for the fulfillment of the demands of the workers.

Then WINTER said that the discontent in the UAW is becoming widespread and has resulted in a number of wildcat strikes in many factories. These wildcat strikes have compelled the corporations to improve conditions on a shop level. The leadership of the UAW is very uneasy about this discontent. The leadership of the UAW sent EMIL MAZEY into Canada to carry out a purge of a UAW local on the grounds that it was infiltrated by Reds. This is one way the UAW leadership has of breaking up rank and file discontent. Because he had to carry out this purge, MAZEY was put on the spot. MAZEY and REUTHER do not see eye to eye. Because he had to carry out the purge, MAZEY is less popular

with the rank and file. MAZEY is adopting an independent position on many issues. The speech on peace which MAZEY made in Chicago has never appeared in print under UAW auspices. The "Kenosha Labor" is the only publication speaking for the UAW which reprinted this speech. MAZEY is jockeying for an independent base.

Continuing, WINTER said that while the UAW leadership is unpopular, it is wrong to jump to the conclusion that the rank and file in the union wants to dump this leadership. In some sections of the UAW, the union leadership is more militant than the top leadership and is reacting to this militancy of the rank and file. An example of this is the farm equipment leadership in Chicago.

WINTER said that GOSSE (phonetic), who was at one time suspended from the UAW, has been taken back into the union by REUTHER as the head of the skilled tradesmen and the head of the Toledo area. The reason for this is that REUTHER needs GOSSE for support.

Next WINTER stated that the National Committee for Democratic Action is a rank-and-file movement within the UAW. Its leaders are former leaders in the skilled trades. The National Committee for Democratic Action is not a going concern. The Communist Party has a negative attitude toward this group. The Communist Party wants this group to execute its program through a mobilization of all the workers, not only the radicals. The main drive of this group is to oust WALTER REUTHER at the next constitutional convention of the UAW. WINTER stated that it is his opinion that the National Committee for Democratic Action will not be successful in this attempt. While the workers in the UAW may resent the union leadership, they favor unity and will rally around REUTHER to preserve the union.

WINTER stated that as far as the CP can determine, there is no new leadership in the making in the UAW as yet. MAZEY is only a potential. REUTHER is trying to destroy MAZEY. The CP should avoid helping in the destruction of MAZEY. Then WINTER took issue with the fact that "The Worker" reprinted the speech MAZEY made in Chicago. He said, we are hugging MAZEY a little too tightly. WINTER also stated that he disagrees with those who overestimate the National Committee for Democratic Action within the UAW.

Next WINTER stated that at one time the River Rouge Plant of the Ford Motor Company had 85,000 workers, all of whom were members of the UAW. Today there are 28,000 workers in this plant so there is a large body of unemployed workers, some of whom have 14 to 15 years seniority in this plant.

Then WINTER exhibited a leaflet with the caption "Save Your Job." He said that this leaflet was issued by a Ford Local of the UAW as a result of Left initiative, but it is not a CP leaflet. The leaflet has 120 signatures. WINTER said that this type of activity on a plant level is needed. We should hold our horses and should mobilize the workers before setting up a top committee of union leaders. He said that there is a similar development among the skilled workers at Ford.

WINTER exhibited another leaflet put out by a group of Cadillac workers known as the Right Wing Green Slate. He stated that even though this group calls themselves "Right Wingers", their demands are like Left Wing demands. A Negro is on the slate. The phrase "Right Wing" does not mean anything and the CP has to unite with all of the workers. The workers will unite with those who solve their grievances on the job, those who fight the foremen for the workers, those who fight against speed-up and those who fight against unemployment.

Continuing WINTER said that the UAW is in terrible shape. It is caught in the vice of the contract. When the last contract was signed, the union undertook to police it.

This is why the UAW leadership does very little about grievances, why it tries to stop wildcat strikes, etc.

WINTER stated that in April, 1961, the UAW will hold a special convention dealing with grievances and demands. This is not a constitution convention and it will not elect officers. The National Auto Commission of the CP, USA, will need the help of the National Trade Union Commission of the CP, USA, to work out proposals and demands for this convention of the UAW.

In concluding WINTER stated that there is a need for the CP to issue a declaration in answer to the National Association of Manufacturers which has been talking about 1960 being "our year." WINTER said, we should point out that this should be the year of the workers.

Discussion of WINTER's Report

There was a brief discussion of WINTER's report. The discussion consisted mainly of questions directed to WINTER. Among those participating in the discussion were LOUIS WEINSTOCK, GEORGE MORRIS, HY LUMER, DOROTHY HEALEY, IRVING POTASH and BEN DAVIS.

In answer to a question, WINTER said that there is a progressive caucus in the Ford Local of the UAW. The last meeting of this caucus was held in the Ford Union Hall with 150 workers in attendance. STELLATO (PH), President of this Local, was invited to attend the meeting, but he did not do so. This caucus is angry with STELLATO and is in opposition to him. The caucus claims that STELLATO is not clear on the Negro question as well as other issues. However, the position of the CP is to try to establish a working relationship with STELLATO and explain to him his weaknesses and why some of the rank and filers are angry with him.

Report by CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT on the
Preparation for the Founding Convention
of the American Negro Labor Council

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he doubted that there will be 2,000 delegates at the Founding Convention of the American Negro Labor Council (ANLC) in Detroit during the last weekend in May. He said that there is not even a good mobilization in Detroit for this convention. Therefore, it will be necessary for the CP, and those who it influences, to stay on top of this mobilization.

LIGHTFOOT said that the ANLC is an unprecedented movement. There is nothing to go by from past experiences. There are 1 to 1½ million Negro trade unionists being mobilized and this is most important. There are some problems in regard to the organizational structure of the ANLC. There are dangers of splits as a result of struggles between rank and filers and trade union officials.

At the convention in Detroit, the general issue will be the constitution. The ANLC is already working on amendments to the draft constitution. The CP must be a constructive and unifying force at the Founding Convention of the ANLC. The Steering Committee of the ANLC met in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, last weekend. The position of A. PHILIP RANDOLPH is very difficult. The Steering Committee has changed clause 12 which excluded Communists from the ANLC. Now the Steering Committee is talking about not accepting Communists, Fascists and others who belong to a totalitarian type of organization. LIGHTFOOT said that this is worse than clause 12.

Next LIGHTFOOT said, we should ride along with everything except a narrow movement, "red-baiting", etc. The ANLC has got to take up all the issues facing the Negro people, such as economic and political issues, and not just trade union issues.

Then LIGHTFOOT stated that the CP will have a Steering Committee at Detroit to guide CP members in attendance at the Founding Convention of the ANLC. This CP Steering Committee will consist of the following:

Jim Jackson, who will be at the ANLC Convention representing "The Worker," but will be able to speak for the leadership of the CP, USA;

BERT WASHINGTON of Cleveland

DAVE MOORE of Detroit

BERT WASHINGTON will have his headquarters in the Statler Hotel in Detroit and CP members will be given the location of Washington's headquarters.

Remarks of GUS HALL on the American Negro Labor Council

After some considerable discussion on the ANLC, there was a summary by GUS HALL.

HALL stated that at first GEORGE MEANY was opposed to the ANLC. Later the leadership of the AFL-CIO changed its mind and has decided to take over and to influence the ANLC. HALL said that it is his opinion that PHILIP RANDOLPH is not very happy about this development. RANDOLPH would be happy to get a big rank and file delegation which would make it possible for him to get a cadre out of the ANLC. The CP should not be placed in the position of playing a disruptive role in the ANLC. Yet the CP should help to prevent the AFL-CIO officialdom and the Social Democrats from taking over the ANLC.

HALL stated that the CP will have to use common sense and will have to roll with the punches. Even if the CP fights against a narrow constitution and "red-baiting" in the ANLC, this fight should not result in a split and the isolation of the CP from the ANLC.

In conclusion, HALL stated that the ANLC will elect an Executive Committee of 23. To guarantee a democratic organization, 12 of these 23 will be from the rank and file, while 11 will be full time trade union organizers. RANDOLPH is in favor of this type of leading committee.

Report from the National Steel
Commission of the CP, USA, by
ANTON KRCHMAREK

This reporter was not present for all of KRCHMAREK's report.

KRCHMAREK talked about unemployment in the steel industry because of speed-up and automation. He said that recently the Rarick Movement within the United Steel Workers of America held a conference in Pittsburgh. The Rarick Movement is concentrating on Local elections, which will take place this year. DAVID MC DONALD, President of the USWA, is trying to expose the Rarick Movement by saying that it is receiving funds from outside the union. Therefore, MC DONALD may use the Landrum-Griffin Act to get the Rarick Movement to explain its financial set-up. KRCHMAREK stated however that the Rarick Movement obtains money from rank and file trade unionists and that MC DONALD will not have a leg to stand on in regard to this charge.

Discussion of the Report
by ANTON KRCHMAREK

GUS HALL predicted that within a few years the Rarick Movement will take over the USWA.

All present at this meeting stated that the CP should get into the Rarick Movement. However, KRCHMAREK pointed out that the conference in Pittsburgh was restricted to the old members of the Rarick Movement and that at least for the present time this is a closed movement.

GEORGE MORRIS stated that the newspaper with the biggest story on the Pittsburgh conference of the Rarick Movement was the "Wall Street Journal". MORRIS said that the steel contract will be the big issue for the Rarick Movement. This movement now recognizes that the old fight against higher union dues payments is no longer an issue in the USWA. Grievances of the workers, such as speed-up, automation and unemployment, are the big issues now. MORRIS also stated that

the Rarick Movement asked that DAVID MC DONALD take a cut in his salary of \$50,000 a year. It was pointed out that the salary of WALTER REUTHER is only \$22,000 a year.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL stated that the reports of CARL WINTER and ANTON KRCHMAREK were very good since they have an economic basis. The reports showed that automation and speed-up are resulting in unemployment. In regard to whether this is the year of the manufacturers, STACHEL stated that the National Association of Manufacturers may be boasting. The manufacturers have not been so successful in 1960. They were going to smash the USWA, yet the workers won a long strike. It is true that the manufacturers got the Landrum-Griffin Act, but this legislation can be fought.

Then STACHEL stated that the AFL-CIO has no program for the working people of the United States. While the AFL-CIO has a cold war program, it has no program for economic improvement. The AFL-CIO has a program of splits. This is why the Teamsters are out of the AFL-CIO. All of these things weaken the labor movement in the United States.

Next STACHEL stated that the CP should take a more critical attitude toward the AFL-CIO and the International unions. The CP should expose the fact that the AFL-CIO and the International unions have no program and are not fighting for the worker. Even WALTER REUTHER no longer has a bag of tricks. REUTHER used to come out with something new and different all the time even though all of his schemes were not practical. Now REUTHER is only playing a supporting role to GEORGE MEANY.

STACHEL warned that the CP should not mechanically compare the rank and file movements in the UAW and the USWA. In the steel industry there is a genuine rank and file movement which has existed for a number of years and this is where the CP ought to work.

Proposal by GUS HALL with an Amendment by IRVING POTASH

GUS HALL proposed that the Secretariat of the CP, USA, and the National Steel Commission of the CP, USA, meet

together and work out a most positive attitude toward the rank and file or Rarick Movement in the steel industry. Further, that the steel industry should be the main industrial concentration for the CP, USA. That the CP, USA, pursue this as a crash program for at least one or two years.

IRVING POTASH stated that he would fully accept this proposal with one amendment. The amendment would be that the CP, USA, still consider the auto industry as well as the steel industry as the chief points of concentration, but that no other industries would be chief points of concentration by the Party. While both the steel and auto industries would be the chief points of concentration, the CP emphasis would be on the steel industry. HALL agreed to the amendment of POTASH and this proposal by HALL, as amended by POTASH, was adopted unanimously at this meeting.

This meeting concluded at this time. It is possible that IRVING POTASH may summarize this enlarged meeting of the National Trade Union Commission of the CP, USA, at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA, or at an enlarged meeting of the Secretariat of the CP, USA, scheduled to be held on Monday, May 16, 1960.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM ***** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/19/60

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION

IS-C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY
OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on May 16, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following page to SA [redacted] This information was reduced to writing on May 19, 1960.

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2 - Bureau (RM)
3 - Detroit (RM)
1 - 100-2050 (CP, USA, Organization)
1 - 100-8482 [redacted]
1 - 100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
2 - Los Angeles (RM)
1 - 100- (DOROTHY FORREST)
1 - 100- (JAMES FORREST)
6 - New York (RM)
1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)
1 - 100-128814 (CP, New York District, Organization)
1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - 100-15946 [redacted]
1 - St. Louis (RM)
1 - 100-7625 [redacted]
7 - Chicago
1 - 4 [redacted]
1 - 100-18953 (CP, Illinois District, Organization)
1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
1 - 100-12459 (FLO HALL)
1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
1 - 61-867 (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)

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REC-7

100-3-69-7791

22 MAY 23 1960

JBK:jem
(21)

EX-108

62 MAY 27 1960

May 16, 1960

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

On Monday morning, May 16, 1960, there was an informal meeting in a dairy restaurant on Broadway between 26th and 27th Streets in New York City.

Persons in Attendance

The following persons participated in this informal discussion.

GUS HALL
CARL WINTER
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
PHIL BART
MORRIS CHILDS
JIM JACKSON

Proposed Organizational Changes in Connection with the Midwest Region of the Communist Party (CP), USA

The discussion centered around the fact that TOMMY DENNIS, while accepting the position of Executive Secretary of the Michigan District of the CP, USA, has refused to work full time for the Party. Thus, CARL WINTER, Chairman of the Michigan District, and in charge of the Midwest Region, feels that he cannot leave the Michigan District in order to carry out assignments in connection with the Midwest Region.

GUS HALL stated that he feels that WINTER must start paying attention to the Midwest Region regardless of what happens in Michigan.

Apparently in an effort to get rid of FLO HALL, CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT suggested that during the weekend of May 21 and 22, 1960, he and WINTER discuss with HALL the possibility of HALL moving to Michigan to become Executive Secretary of the Michigan District. GUS HALL praised FLO HALL as a coming cadre person.

Asked who he had in mind to replace FLO HALL, as Organization Secretary of the Illinois District if she agrees to move to Detroit, LIGHTFOOT said that he would try to convince JACK KLING to take this position even though KLING is working full time as the Chicago Business Manager of the "Morning Freiheit".

In the event FLO HALL refuses to move to Detroit, for family or other reasons, the following persons were mentioned as possibilities for the position of Executive Secretary of the Michigan District: "RED" DAVIS of the Missouri District, who was also praised by GUS HALL as a good comrade with cadre potential; JIM TORMEY, who may become available since a reorganization of the New York District is planned and may result in an excess of cadre personnel in the New York District; JIM FORREST of the Southern California District. HALL said that he thinks that FORREST would make a good cadre person for Michigan if FORREST and the Southern California District would agree to the move. FORREST has been divorced by his wife who married one DE LACY (phonetic), formerly of Cleveland. During this discussion, someone commented that JIM and DOROTHY FORREST were in the dog house with the Missouri District prior to their departure from St. Louis for California.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM ***** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/19/60

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-21078)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEW JERSEY DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY
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2 - Bureau (RM)

1 - Los Angeles (RM)

1 - 100- [redacted]

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3 - Newark (RM)

1 - 100-4284 (CP, USA, New Jersey District, Organization)

1 - 100-32233 (LEW MOROZE)

1 - 100-19431 (PAT TOOHEY)

3 - New York (RM)

1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)

1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)

1 - 100-49430 (PAT TOOHEY) (415)

2 - Chicago

1 - A [redacted]

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JK:jem
(11)

REC-1 100-3-69-7792

12 MAY 23 1960

62 MAY 27 1960

May 15, 1960

PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, stated on May 15, 1960, that PAT TOOHEY will continue as Chairman of the New Jersey District of the CP, USA. LEW MOROZE will be the Executive Secretary of this District. IRVING GOFF of Southern California who was being considered for a position in the leadership of the New Jersey District, refused to move from California to New Jersey.

F B I

Date: 5/15/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C
CINALCARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO PROTECT THE
IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.The following is a summary of information
furnished by CG 5824-S* to SA [redacted] concerning
the May 14, 1960, or second day of sessions of the
three day meeting of the National Executive Committee
of the CP, USA. Details follow.The following persons were in attendance for
the sessions of May 14, 1960:Members of the National Executive CommitteePHIL BART
BENJAMIN DAVIS
GUS HALL3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
1 - Chicago A [redacted] AM (RM)
1 - New York (100-80641)JEK:mbb
(6)

EX-105

100-3-69-77935!

REG-59

MAY 16 1960

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Sent _____ M PCL

Special Agent in Charge

50 MAY 26 1960

DIVISION OF SEARCH
CENTRAL INDEX

NY 100-80641

CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HYMAN LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

Guests

BILL ALBERTSON
JIM ALLEN
HERBERT APTHEKER
MORRIS CHILDS
BETTY GANNETT
ARNOLD JOHNSON
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

At the suggestion of GUS HALL, IRVING POTASH was the Chairman of the sessions on May 14, 1960.

The sessions consisted of two main reports, one was by HY LUMER on Education and Ideology, the other was by JIM JACKSON on Agitation and Propaganda. The rest of the sessions was devoted to discussions on these reports and an information report by MORRIS CHILDS on Cuba. The reports of LUMER and JACKSON will be mimeographed.

LUMER was self-critical and critical of the

NY 100-80641

National Office of the CP, USA, because sufficient leadership has not been given in the field of education. He emphasized the importance of the club as one of the most important forms for Party education. He said that in the National Office of the CP, USA, there is no real educational apparatus although some individuals work on education. He stated that WILLIAM WEINSTONE gives him some assistance, but, in general, education is still being brushed aside. There is very little cadre training. The present cadre received its training a long time ago. We have too few ideological militants who defend theory. The CP, USA has lost the habit of leading and of self study. One might say we do not have a reading membership today.

LUMER stated that the training of educators to teach the Party is an important task of the Party. The training of club leaders is the next most important task. He proposed a six month study period on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. This would include an introduction of new things to study such as "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism" by OTTO KUUSINEN.

LUMER also spoke about the use of the "World Marxist Review". He said that this magazine is very valuable, but the total circulation in the US is just a little over 800 copies. He proposed a drive to double this circulation.

LUMER also proposed the setting up of a national organization and educational apparatus. The task of this apparatus should be that of issuing study outlines and organizing schools. The apparatus should be subdivided into departments. LUMER proposed that he be in charge of organizing the schools or education apparatus and that he contact the districts in this regard. He proposed that WILLIAM WEINSTONE work in the area of cadre training. Someone, not LUMER, should be in charge of agitation, even though he has this task at the present. Furthermore, the more important districts should assign cadre for similar tasks.

PHIL BART talked about the loss of cadre and the

NY 100-80641

need to retrain cadre. He said that the main losses were among the middle cadre. They were of the age level of 25 to 40 years. Today, the average club chairman has been in the CP for 20 years. This means that the Party has not trained any new cadre and is not training any new cadre now.

JACK STACHEL stated that because of a lack of understanding of theory and a lack of education, the Party does not react to events soon enough on the lower levels. Therefore, if the leading comrades would meet with the clubs, they could raise the level of education and get the clubs to react faster to current events.

GUS HALL stated that the top leadership of the CP is not equipped to train others, therefore, it is necessary to raise the education level of this leadership. There is a need to cut out bombast and long windedness; a need to quit being so shallow minded and a need to really begin to study and to help educate others.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE talked about the importance of the new book, "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism". He stated that he doubted that he could accept the assignment for cadre training which LUMER suggested for him because he is in poor health.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated that there are plenty of members of the CP who could be a part of the cadre. DOROTHY HEALEY stated that the CP does not apply Marxism-Leninism to the US. Many books are being released which analyze the American scene, but we in the CP do not do this.

In his report, JAMES JACKSON read several pages of a volume of LENIN on agitation and propaganda which was written in 1897. JACKSON stated that agitation

NY 100-80641

is supposed to arose people on some immediate issue. Propaganda is more of a long term concept designed to plant the seeds of ideas in the minds of the more advanced thinkers. He referred to a remark by GUS HALL that the agitational material of the CP, USA is abominable.

Then JACKSON talked about what is necessary to get an audience.. He said, the CP must compete with Madison Avenue. The advertising in the US is very slick and very effective. The CP must put out reading material which will compete with Madison Avenue. Skills in the Party which can do this must be utilized. The Party must use the art of sloganizing in order to develop good propaganda. The Party needs agitators and propagandists who have mastered theory and combined it with craftsmanship to produce readable and attractive material.

JACKSON said that if the Party does not use radio and/or television, it will not reach the people. He also discussed the use of "The Worker" as an agitator and propagandist. He said plans are now being formulated for a daily paper and perhaps the "Daily Worker" will be issued again by 1961.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG stated that the revisionist assault against the CP, USA resulted in a lessening of the distribution of theoretical literature. However, he has plenty of this material on hand, but the CP, USA is not buying or using it.

BEN DAVIS stated we are still far from having ideological unity in the CP. Actually we have a united front on ideology in the leadership.

CARL WINTER stated that he does not agree that the CP has to compete with Madison Avenue. While he would like to see the CP have livelier leaflets, it must appeal

NY 100-80641

to the workers. Many workers are suspicious of leaflets printed on slickpaper.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that until the CP tackles the problem of getting cadre in a practical way and takes into consideration the overall needs of the individuals, it will not get results.

HERBERTH APTHEKER stated, we must find the key to put into a person's mind. Then we must turn that key so as to expose the lies of the US Government such as the lie on the U-2 flight over the USSR. The Party must put passion and feeling into its agitation. It must learn how to agitate and propagandize for democracy, socialism and patriotism. We have to destroy the image of Communists in relation to their country. In truth, we are the patriots; we fight for peace and to destroy the lies of the government for the good of our country.

LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated that "The Worker" advisory committee has been established. No one should be surprised if this committee should start a drive for 100,000 to 150,000 dollars to lay the basis for republication of the "Daily Worker".

GUS HALL said he has heard the same story from TRACHTENBERG on numerous occasions. TRACHTENBERG better stop talking about old titles. We need a new list of titles, books and pamphlets. He said he has told this to TRACHTENBERG before and is telling him again. TRACHTENBERG has got to get out of the past.

HALL stated, in style, form and content, our literature reads like it was put out by people who do not care if they influence a single soul or if anybody ever reads it. Some of the stuff is just put out for the record.

NY 100-80641

HALL also stated he is of the opinion that the CP needs to compete with Madison Avenue. Also the Party needs to develop a system of finding out what effect it's material has on the people. He also suggested the setting up of two watch dog committees of from 40 to 50 people to read and then to criticize "The Worker" and "Political Affairs".

WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that more passion and more heat is needed in the propaganda speeches of the Party speakers if they want the people to believe them. Most of the speakers read their material as if they do not believe it themselves.

LUMER proposed that both his and JACKSON's reports be adopted. HALL asked if LUMER intended that LUMER's suggestions be included in the motion for adoption. LUMER replied in the affirmative and the NEC adopted the proposal.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/20/60

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CG 5824-S* on May 15, 1960, orally furnished the information on the following page to SA [redacted]. This information was reduced to writing on May 20, 1960.

b6
b7C

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - Baltimore (RM)
- 1 - 100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)
- 2 - New York (RM)
 - 1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)
 - 1 - 100-31666 (CP, USA, Southern Regional Committee) (415)
- 2 - Chicago
 - 1 - A [redacted]

b7D

JEK:jem

(7)

b6
b7C

REC-41

100-3-69-7794

7 MAY 23 1960

EX-126

1 SEC

64 MAY 31 1960

May 15, 1960

During the Executive Session of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party (CP), USA, held in New York City on May 15, 1960, after the termination of the enlarged meeting of the National Executive Committee, there was some discussion about giving GEORGE MEYERS some Party assignments in the South.

MEYERS stated privately that he is working in the building trades industry and is up and down ladders all day long. He said that he is finding it very difficult to work all day and then try to do CP work at night.

100-3-69-11994

OFFICE MEMORANDUM ***** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE : 5/20/60

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

CARE SHOULD BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE
FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE IDENTITY
OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on May 16, 1960, orally furnished the
information on the following page to SA [redacted] This
information was reduced to writing on May 20, 1960.

b6
b7C

2 - Bureau (RM)
7 - New York (RM)

1 - 100-74560 (CP, USA, Funds) (415)
1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)
1 - 100-79717 (CP, USA, Political Activities) (415)
1 - 97-169 (Publishers New Press)
1 - 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)

2 - Chicago

1 - A) [redacted]

b6
b7C

b7D

JK
JEK:jem
(11)

REC-16

100-3-69-7795

2 MAY 23 1960

f20
50 MAY 31 1960

May 16, 1960

On Monday, May 16, 1960, GUS HALL, General Secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, was very critical of the work of PHIL BART, National Organization Secretary of the CP, USA. HALL stated that BART is not a good organizer. He said that he was particularly concerned over BART's inability to conduct fund raising campaigns for the Party. HALL said that it is necessary to find someone to take charge of the Party finances on a full time basis.

HALL stated that JACK STACHEL is not working full time on "The Worker", so he has talked to STACHEL about giving BART some help in the organization department. STACHEL may also be used in connection with the Party's activities in regard to the 1960 election campaign.

-1-

100-3-69-2795
ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: May 18, 1960

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. DiseSUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

610
 The newly elected Communist Party (CP), USA, national executive committee held its first meeting in New York City on 5/13-15/60. Among the important matters discussed were the following:

CP Electoral Policy

The Party's electoral policy includes three main aspects: (1) participate in elections to influence their outcome, (2) raise issues, sharpen demands and mobilize the people and (3) use elections to promote the Party's program. It was stated the Republican Party has been seriously damaged as a result of the "spy plane" incident and the peace issue is now more important than ever. The Party has a duty and responsibility to bring together the "non-Party left" so they can play a role in the 1960 elections. The Party must develop independent political action and try to run candidates for office wherever and whenever possible.

Education and Ideology

There has been a lack of leadership in the field of education and no real educational apparatus exists in the CP, USA. The habit of reading and self-study has been lost and there is very little cadre training in the Party today. National educational apparatus was proposed, as was a six-month study period throughout the Party on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. It is necessary to raise the educational level of Party leadership so these leaders can assist in the training of others. Only two CP districts have had continuous education directors, namely, New York and Chicago.

Agitation and Propaganda

Agitation is supposed to arouse people on an immediate issue, while propaganda is a long-term concept designed to plant the seeds of ideas in the minds of the more advanced thinkers. The Party needs agitators and propagandists who can produce attractive and readable material. In style, form and content, CP literature today reads as though it were put out by someone who does not care whether it is ever read or whether it has any influence on the masses. in All media,

100-3-69

PWD:kmo (5)

151 MAY 27 1960

REC-10

100-3-69-7791
12 MAY 24 1960

EX-108

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.M. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

B
Belmont
Sec. of State re
CINA

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -
ORGANIZATION
100-3-69

including television, radio and film strips, must be used in this work. Agitation must have an immediate relationship to the daily life of the masses. The Party must use "The Worker" for agitation and "Political Affairs," the monthly theoretical journal, for propaganda.

The International Situation

The "spy plane" incident created "the most massive self-exposure that has taken place in history" and has led to an impossible situation because no open defense has been received from any quarter. The peace forces in the world have never had such a clear-cut issue. The Party must point out that the United States Government is reinstituting McCarthyism in that the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and the National Security Council are becoming the dominant forces in American foreign policy. The Party should (1) point out the U. S. Government has become committed to the use of atomic weapons by its Armed Forces, (2) point out the moral degradation of the United States in being allied with Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, (3) point out the racism, arrogance and rottenness of the ruling class in the United States (4) point out the growing need of preventative war in military circles and (5) must intensify its struggle against CIA and other such forces. Khrushchev can be counted upon to adhere to a policy of promoting peace, coexistence and progress in the settlement of the Berlin issue. All developments in the "plane incident" are examples of the way Khrushchev takes advantage of contradictions existing in the bourgeois world and uses those contradictions to further peaceful coexistence.

Election of CG 5824-S as Foreign Affairs Secretary

Gus Hall proposed that CG 5824-S be elected secretary of the foreign affairs committee of the Party in view of the very important job he has been doing and the real contributions he has made in this specific field. In this position, CG 5824-S is answerable to the national executive committee and is considered a part of the national executive committee although he was not elected to the national executive committee. The selection of the informant for this position will not be announced beyond the national executive committee. At the present time the foreign affairs committee is a committee of one. This is the first time we have had an informant associated with the national executive committee.

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA -
ORGANIZATION
100-3-69

ACTION:

This is for your information. This material will be disseminated in the next issue of the Current Intelligence Analysis.

Paul J. Goss
John Goss
P. Goss
Eff Goss
Kerry Goss
1970

F B I

Date: 5/20/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL ATRMATT
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, PORTLAND (100-9258)

RE: CP, -USA, ORGANIZATION
IS - C
CINAL

A June "control" of Party members has been ordered by the national office of the CP, according to an announcement by NORMAN HAALAND, Oregon state CP chairman, to members of the Party's state board at a meeting on the night of 5/19/60.

[redacted] advised this date that HAALAND told the state board members that instructions calling for the "control" or collection of data on members had been handed down by GUS HALL, the national organization's general secretary.

b7D

It was pointed out to HAALAND that such a registration of members was conducted only recently prior to HAALAND's attendance at the March meeting of the national committee. Nevertheless, HAALAND said, the procedure must be followed again. HAALAND indicated that he would notify the other Party clubs in Oregon outside Portland. According to 305, the registration will include the usual data as to age of members, number of years in Party, occupation, etc.

THORNTON

3 Bureau (RM)
2 Portland
(1 100-9258)
(1 100-3952 Sub 14)

WSB:jb

(5)

REC-68

100-369-7787

15 MAY 23 1960

51 MAY 26 1960

Approved _____
Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M. Per _____

100-3-69-7798, 7799

CHANGED TO

100-3-17-712X1, 712X

MAY 7 1965

BC - DB7

C

F B I

Date: 5/14/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA ORGANIZATION
IS - C
CINAL

The following is a summary of information furnished by CG 58275 to SA [redacted] on 5/13/60, in regard to the first day of sessions of a three day meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA, being held in the National Headquarters of the CP, USA, 23 W. 26th St., NYC. Full details will follow:

b6
b7C

The following members of the NEC were in attendance:

PHIL BART
 BENJAMIN DAVIS
 EUGENE DENNIS
 GUS HALL
 CLARENCE HATHAWAY
 DOROTHY HEALEY
 JAMES JACKSON
 ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

b6
b7C

100-3-69-7800

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 1 - Chicago A [redacted] (AM) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-80641)

REC-17] ⑨ MAY 16 1960

b7D

JEK:mbb
(6)

EX-107

INVESTIGATION
CENTRAL RESEARCH

cc-Brennan

cc-Wick

Approved:

WPD

Sent _____ M Per _____

Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-80641

HYMAN LUMER
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

The following invited guests were also in attendance:

BILL ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
HERBERT APTHEKER
MORRIS CHILDS
BETTY GANNETT
ARNOLD JOHNSON
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK

JAMES JACKSON was the Chairman of the session on 5/13/60, and this session dealt only with aspects of the electoral policy of the CP, USA. The main remarks were made by JACK STACHEL. While STACHEL made some suggestions, no proposals were made at this session.

STACHEL said that there are three aspects of Party policy in electoral matters and this policy was adopted as far back as 1955. These three aspects are:

1. The Party participates in elections to influence their outcome.
2. The Party raises issues, sharpens demands, and mobilizes people.
3. The independent role of the CP in bringing about a realignment and in raising its own problems.

STACHEL stated that two new factors have influenced the electoral situation in the last week and

F B I

Date: 5/16/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-128814)

SUBJECT: CP, USA
NEW YORK DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
IS - C
(OO: NY)

G. D. Cooley
J. H. Clegg
W. P. Jones
T. W. Kite
B. C. Rachell

b6
b7C

On 5/13/60, NY 2358-S* advised that the CP, USA, NYD Organization Commission met on this date at CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th St., NYC. WILLIAM ALBERTSON (CP USA NYD Organization Secretary) acted as Chairman of this meeting and stated the agenda would be as follows:

- (1) Organization question
- (2) Election campaign
- (3) Peace question.

ALBERTSON on taking up the first point stated that the National Organization Commission was considering conducting a national registration some time in the fall. It would give the Party nationally the first picture of its membership since "the crisis", and the overcoming of "the crisis."

3 Bureau (100-3-69)(RM)

- 1- NY 100-128817 (CP, USA, NYD Membership) (414)
- 1- NY 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)
- 1- NY 100-128823 (CP, USA, NYD Dom. Adm.) (414)
- 1- NY 100-128812 (CP, USA NYD Pol. Activities) (414)
- 1- NY 100-128814 (414)

b6
b7C

REC-17

27 MAY 17 1960

JFL:ras
(9)

67 MAY 27 1960

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/16/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

NY 100-128814

ALBERTSON continued by stating that a special type of registration form would be used. It will not only count members, list ages and length of time in the Party, but it will list other background information.

ALBERTSON then proceeded to discuss dues payments by the membership of the Party. He stated that between now and June 30 every effort must be made to have all members paid up to June 30th.

During the discussion on the question of dues and registration a comment was made that "when a comrade registers we don't take his name or his address."

ALBERTSON then proceeded to give a short report on the Primary Election Campaign being waged in New York City. He gave a brief summary on the different election districts and the candidates involved.

ALBERTSON then took up the 3rd point on the agenda which was the Peace Question. ALBERTSON in discussing the plane incident stated that the reaction of the overwhelming majority of the American people was that there was no excuse for it. The U.S. Government has not been able to make one single statement which would give them the offensive.

ALBERTSON stated that "we" have a role to play, the club leadership of the Party has to sit down with the club membership to help the comrades decide the best approach in expressing themselves to EISENHOWER while he is at the Summit Conference. ALBERTSON informed those present "to

-2-

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/16/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL _____
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

NY 100-128814

keep talking peace like you never talked before."

ALBERTSON then stated the next meeting of the State Organization Commission would be held May 27, 1960. Meeting was then adjourned.

-3-

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/19/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL
(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA ORGANIZATION
IS - C

NY 2010-S, on 5/19/60, advised that the following statement on the failure of the Summit Meeting was issued for the National Secretariat of the Communist Party of the United States by GUS HALL, the General Secretary:

"The failure of the Summit negotiations to take place is a serious setback to the cause of world peace and disarmament and to the ending of the cold war. It has created a situation which calls upon the American people to think soberly concerning the causes and the possible consequences of this development and to avoid being swayed by hysterical reactions.

"Responsibility for this failure must be placed at the door of those rabid diehard cold war exponents in our country who have unceasingly maneuvered and intrigued to scuttle any serious negotiations for peace and must be placed at the door of the EISENHOWER Administration which has yielded to these elements and become a party to their double-dealing.

③ - Bureau (100-3) (RM)
1 - New York (100-80641)

To deserv - REC-17/100-3-69-7822
Some info in "TW" editorial strike 28 MAY 20 1960

GAF:mfw (414)

(5)

Approved: B20 X Sent _____ M Per _____
62 MAY 31 1960 Special Agent in Charge

NY 100-80641

"This was expressed in a series of incidents indicating that there was no real intention of seriously seeking agreement with the Soviet Union. These were capped by the provocative act of sending a spy plane across the Soviet Union on the very eve of the Summit meetings followed by declarations by both HERTER and EISENHOWER that such violations of the territory of other nations have been and continue to be the policy of our government. To this was added the failure to send even a diplomatic note of apology customary in such circumstances.

"All this represents a serious backsliding from the position of EISENHOWER at Camp David, a position which we hailed as indicating a turn in the direction of a policy of peace; but we cannot support or condone the present stand of the EISENHOWER Administration which has been such as to bring shame on our country and to force a situation which no leader of a sovereign power could enter into negotiations. A Summit Conference is still vitally needed. Negotiations for peace and disarmament are no less urgent than before. The recent tragic events are a warning to the American people to prevent war mentality in big business circles, in the State Department, in the Pentagon, which is still very strong and menacing in our midst, and is a warning that the people must press for a policy of negotiation and good faith and for dealing with the Soviet Union as an equal, the only basis on which Summit negotiations can be successfully undertaken.

"The cold warriors will attempt to use this critical situation to plug for the stepping up of armaments, the sharpening of world tensions, and the creation of a war hysteria. The people of our country must relentlessly combat all such efforts and must make their desire for peace more strongly heard than ever before."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-637) *69*

DATE: 5/24/60

FROM : SAC, WFO (100-421 H)

REC-19

DMG
 SUBJECT: CP, USA,
 Maryland-D. C. District
 Washington Field Division
 Organization
 IS-C

On 5/20/60, WF 1016-S* advised that on that date, CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ discussed a Washington Area Forum (WAF) sponsored Memorial Meeting which was to be held in honor of the late GERTRUDE EVANS, on that date.

HELEN mentioned that they had a lot of people "to pick up" for the WAF meeting. She stated that it was almost like "the old days". While discussing why there was not more activity in this area, HELEN stated that there was not any leadership in this area. She said that she gets so disgusted that "she would be willing to take over."

CLARENCE stated that there still is not any good leadership in New York.

HELEN, in commenting on the WAF meeting, stated "that big nothing BILL (JOHNSON) will be there tonight swelling in his own importance. If he was gone, we could at least have a start." She said that SAM ABBOTT was the only "real leader" that they ever had in this area.

HELEN said that "it was funny that the center of all activity in this area was themselves," although there isn't much to be the center of."

CLARENCE stated that when "the depression really starts there will be something." He said that "the war scare may hold it off but it will come in 1961 just like it says in 'The Worker'."

3 - Bureau
 1 - Baltimore (Info) (RM)

REC-10

b6
b7C

5 - WFO

(1 - 100-20644) (HELEN GUREWITZ)
 (1 - 65-1131) (CLARENCE GUREWITZ)
 (1 - 100-2686)
 (1 - 100-6459) (SAM ABBOTT)

MAY 25 1960

EX-100
ACD:jld
(9) *roy*

WFO

52 JUN 2 1960

WFO 100-412 H

The above is furnished for the information of the Bureau and the Baltimore Office.

Concerning the above individuals, the following is set forth:

On 10/10/58, [redacted] identified CLARENCE and HELEN GUREWITZ as Communist Party members as of 10/6/58. b7D

On 1/18/60, [redacted] identified BILL JOHNSON as the Chairman of the Communist Party in Washington, D. C. b7D

On 3/11/58, [redacted] identified SAM ABBOTT as one of the Communist Party members who attended a Communist Party meeting in Silver Spring, Maryland, on 1/20/58. b7D

On 7/30/59, [redacted] advised that GERTRUDE EVANS, b7D who was known to the informant as a Communist Party member in the past, is currently the Executive Secretary of the WAF. This informant stated that EVANS is presently held in high regard by many individuals who were known to be Communist members in the past.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM 00000 UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/24/69 ~~SECRET~~

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION

IS-C

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE
IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT
COMPLETE PARAPHRASING BE UTILIZED IN THE EVENT ANY OF THIS
INFORMATION IS INCORPORATED IN A REPORT SUITABLE FOR DISSEMINATION
IN ORDER TO AFFORD MAXIMUM SECURITY TO THIS INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on May 16, 18 and 19, 1960, orally
furnished the information on the following pages to SA [redacted]
This information was reduced to writing on May 23, 1960. ~~(u)~~

b6
b7C

(u) 2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Los Angeles (RM)
1 - 100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
10 - New York (RM)
1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, Fractionalism) (416)
1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (416)
1 - 100-8057 (EUGENE DENNIS) (416)
1 - 100-9368 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER) (416)
1 - 100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN) (416)
1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (416)
1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER) (416)
1 - 100-118174 (MILT ROSEN)
1 - 100-111666 (JACK SHULMAN)
1 - 100-8595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (416)
3 - Chicago
1 - A [redacted]
1 - 100-3470 (MORELIS CHILDE)

b7D

JK:JON
(16)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

REC 75

100-3-69-7804
11 MAY 26 1960

2 ENCL
2 enclosed with copy
1 filed with copy
57 JUN 7 1960
Classified by 89990100000
Declassify on: OADR

SECRET

~~SECRET~~

May 16, 18 and 19, 1960

~~(u)~~

Discussion between GUS HALL
and MORRIS CHILDS concerning
WILLIAM Z. FOSTER

(u) S On Monday, May 16, 1960, GUS HALL and MORRIS CHILDS were engaged in a discussion at the National Headquarters of the Communist Party (CP), USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City, when JACK SHULMAN delivered a letter from WILLIAM Z. FOSTER to HALL. ~~(u)~~

In this letter, FOSTER attacks the resolutions of the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA. FOSTER also attacks EUGENE DENNIS and states that the CP, USA, has still not rid itself of revisionism. To back up this charge, FOSTER points out that LENIN is quoted only once in the resolutions of the 17th National Convention. Furthermore, in the Convention resolutions, the phrase Marxism-Leninism appears infrequently. Also these resolutions do not expose the American imperialists and do not show a continuity in the history of the CP, USA. FOSTER also makes an issue of state monopoly capital. ~~(u)~~

JACK SHULMAN remarked that despite the fact that GUS HALL had suggested that the comrades from out of town who were in New York City to attend the meeting of the National Executive Committee should visit or phone FOSTER, not one person from out of town had either visited or phoned FOSTER. ~~(u)~~

After SHULMAN departed, HALL said, FOSTER is sick. He is hypocritical and cries all the time. HALL stated, the comrades abroad contribute to our troubles with FOSTER. Some of the other CPs are already writing to FOSTER in regard to preparations for FOSTER's 80th birthday next February. FOSTER states that the whole world pays attention to him except the American comrades who have forgotten him. HALL commented, FOSTER just won't let up. ~~(u)~~

Then HALL stated that he sees FOSTER about once a week but he utilizes WILLIAM WEINSTONE for the purpose of having WEINSTONE visit FOSTER and attempt to keep FOSTER happy. HALL said that he thinks that FOSTER is getting worse physically every day and that he will not live long. ~~57804~~

11/3/84
10/1/84
Classified by 44993

Declassify on: OADR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
ENCLOSURE

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On May 18, 1960, GUS HALL stated that he was sending WEINSTONE to see FOSTER in order to discuss with FOSTER, his latest letter to the National Office. WEINSTONE will be instructed to tell FOSTER that if FOSTER will write self-critically and if he will not mention names, then HALL would go along with the criticisms of FOSTER in his latest letter. HALL said that he believes that this will cause FOSTER to either withdraw the letter or to alter it. ~~(u)~~

(u)

Discussion between WILLIAM Z.
FOSTER and MORRIS CHILDS

(u)

On May 18, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS visited FOSTER. MILT ROSEN was visiting FOSTER when CHILDS arrived and appeared to be embarrassed because he was discovered in FOSTER's residence. FOSTER was raving mad. He stated that of all the people from out of town who were in New York to attend the meeting of the National Executive Committee, only DOROTHY HEALEY had called him and CHILDS was the first to visit him. FOSTER said that no one visits him because they do not agree with his policy. They are just trying to kill him. ~~(u)~~

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FOSTER stated that he had received a note from ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN, which was written from Moscow. In this letter, FLYNN stated that she had seen BLAS ROCA, leader of the CP of Cuba in Moscow. ~~(u)~~

FOSTER stated that he had just warned the National Office of the CP, USA, that the United States Government is going to crack down on the American Communists in view of recent international developments. ~~(u)~~

FOSTER said that he had sent a letter to Moscow pointing out an instance where the magazine "International News" had the wrong line. He said that he received a reply from the Russians, thanking him for pointing this out. Then raving and crying, FOSTER said that despite the appreciation of him in Moscow, the CP, USA, will not print his material. He said the CP, USA, would not print his article which was an answer to the article by EARL BROWDER in "Harpers" magazine. FOSTER blamed HYMAN LUMER for this. He also stated that GUS HALL is all right but that most of the rest of the leadership are right wingers who are trying to destroy him. ~~(u)~~

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~~SECRET~~

May 16, 17, and 18, 1960

~~(u)~~

Discussion between MORRIS CHILDS
and GUS HALL in regard to
EUGENE DENNIS

~~(u)~~

In a discussion between GUS HALL and MORRIS CHILDS, in the headquarters of the Communist Party (CP), USA, 23 West 26th Street, New York City on May 16, 1960, HALL was cursing EUGENE DENNIS. HALL said that DENNIS just will not talk frankly with him and raises issues in meetings which he does not raise in private discussions. HALL cited as an example, the fact that DENNIS stated during the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the CP, USA during the weekend of May 13-15, 1960, that he, DENNIS, disagreed with those comrades who say that JACK KENNEDY is a reactionary and a clerical fascist. HALL said that even though he had a ~~14~~ private discussion with DENNIS prior to the meeting of the National Executive Committee, DENNIS did not voice this viewpoint at this time. HALL said that he is trying to get along with DENNIS but that DENNIS just will not talk to him.

~~(u)~~

HALL also stated that the National Office of the CP, USA, has been considering the purchase of an automobile. When DENNIS heard this, he said that he wanted the use of the auto for the entire summer and planned to take a trip to the midwest. DENNIS also said that he would not take PEGGY DENNIS with him on this trip. HALL remarked that PEGGY DENNIS is vicious and that he, HALL, would not take her on a trip either. Yet in his physical condition, DENNIS should not drive alone.

~~(u)~~

HALL further stated that he planned to ask ISADORE WOTSY to see DENNIS to learn DENNIS' financial situation in view of his medical expenses and plans to take a trip. CHILDS told HALL that he planned to see DENNIS and would discuss with DENNIS his financial needs. HALL replied that this would be fine and that he preferred to handle any funds given to DENNIS out of the Reserve Funds and not out of the funds of the National Office of the CP, USA.

~~(u)~~

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

11/20/84
Classified by 094270K166
Declassify on: OADR

100-369-7805

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ENCLOSURE

~~SECRET~~

Discussion between MORRIS
CHILD'S and EUGENE DENNIS

~~(u)~~

On May 17, 1960, EUGENE DENNIS told MORRIS CHILD'S that he had been spitting blood and had just returned from the office of his physician. DENNIS said that he planned to take a motor trip to the midwest in June but this trip is being held in abeyance pending a change in his physical condition. ~~(u)~~

DENNIS said that he was also looking for a cottage in Maine and that he would like to spend the summer in Maine. He would also like to lease an automobile. Between \$700 and \$800 would be needed for the auto rental and about \$1500 would be needed for the rental of the cottage and medical expenses. ~~(u)~~

MORRIS CHILD'S told DENNIS that he would discuss the financial needs of DENNIS with GUS HALL and if HALL agreed, JACK CHILD'S would make these sums available to DENNIS. ~~(u)~~

DENNIS then discussed the current international situation. He referred to the report on the international situation and the struggle for peace which had been made by GUS HALL at the meeting of the National Executive Committee on May 15, 1960. DENNIS recalled that HALL stated that as a result of current events, some people are saying that the Chinese CP is right and NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV is wrong. HALL had also said, we American Communists should not invent such differences. We reject speculation about differences between the USSR and China. ~~(u)~~

DENNIS asked CHILD'S if he had any recent news of a rift between the Chinese and the Russians or if he knew whether or not HALL had based his remarks on any new information. CHILD'S replied that he knew of no information in this regard. ~~(u)~~

In regard to the breaking up of the Summit meeting, DENNIS said that it was his opinion that this was not due merely to the U-2 spy plane incident. DENNIS said, maybe we failed to see in our discussion in the National Executive Committee meeting that since last January, the United States has been doing everything to prevent some agreement. Further, that this must have been obvious to the leadership in Moscow, even if it was not obvious to us. The United States ~~(u)~~

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announced no concessions nor possibility of agreement on Berlin and raised the ante on an understanding for banning of nuclear tests. ~~(u)~~

(u)

Discussion between MORRIS CHILDS and GUS HALL on the current international situation

(u) ~~(u)~~

On May 17, 1960, MORRIS CHILDS told GUS HALL that he had been asked to report on the current international situation at the meeting of the midwest region of the CP, USA during the weekend of May 21-22, 1960. CHILDS asked HALL what changes he should make in regard to the line presented by HALL at the meeting of the National Executive Committee, in view of the break up of the Summit meeting. HALL said that the struggle for peace still stands. However, the CP, USA, was too optimistic about the possibility of agreement at the Summit. The CP, USA, did not understand what was happening in regard to the policy of the United States. The United States did everything to prevent results at the Summit. HALL said that in his report, CHILDS should emphasize the duplicity of American diplomacy but should show the need for peace. ~~(u)~~

(u)

CHILDS then asked why HALL had raised the issue of possible differences between the Soviet Union and the Chinese in his report on the international situation at the meeting of the National Executive Committee. HALL said that he had a reason for doing this and that he intended to raise this issue again. He said that JACK SHULMAN had asked him for a copy of the issue of the "Piping Review", which deals with the 90th Anniversary of the birth of LENIN. In this issue, the "Piping Review" taken issue with the viewpoint of the CP of the Soviet Union on the inevitability of war. HALL said that WILLIAM Z. FOSTER and BEN DAVIS have already raised this point and are saying that the Chinese are correct and that the Russians are not correct. Further, that war is inevitable under capitalism. HALL said, this idea has to be hit in the bold. ~~(u)~~

(u)

~~SECRET~~

5/24/60

airtel

X-100

To: SAC, Minneapolis (100-1873-P)

From: Director, FBI (100-3-69) - 7806

REC-16

CP, USA ORGANIZATION
IS-C

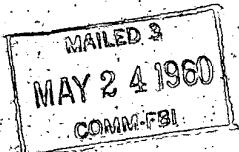
Reurairtel 5/19/60, requesting a 17 inch Teleros lens for the Speed Graphic camera. A 17 inch Teleros lens #137212 for use with a 4 by 5 Pacemaker Speed Graphic camera is being sent to your office under separate cover. This lens should be returned to the Bureau attention FBI Laboratory at the conclusion of this operation.

In reply to your request regarding film to be used with the Robot camera, you are advised that Tri-X film would be the best to use under the low level lighting conditions present in this situation. You will be able to obtain additional speed from Tri-X film by prolonged development over that recommended by the manufacturer. Prolonged development greater than double the recommended developing time is not recommended except in extreme conditions.

1 - Mr. Newman - Property Section (sent direct)

LLS:11h
(6)

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____



62 MAY 31 1960

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

F. B. I.

Date: 5/19/60

Transmit the following in _____

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) ATTENTION: FBI LABORATORY
 MECHANICAL DIVISION
 SAC, MINNEAPOLIS (100-1878-P)

O CP, USA, ORGANIZATION
 IS-C

Re our letter to Bureau 5/11/60, advising that a CP Farm Conference was to be held at the Andrews Hotel, Mpls., Minn., on 5/28 and 29/60.

This Office is planning a photographic surveillance of the meeting room on the mezzanine of this hotel. The distance from the camera location to the subjects will be about 75 to 100 feet. The tungsten reading with a Weston light meter for this corridor is presently between 1.6 and 3.2. It is hoped that this lighting can be improved by placing two floor lamps in the vicinity of this room.

This Office intends to use a 16 mm motion picture camera from this position. It anticipates using the Speed Graphic also because of the distance and the amount of light.

The Bureau is requested to send this Office immediately a 17" F6.3 Teleros lens for the Speed Graphic. Bureau is also requested to advise this Office which would be the best 35 mm film to be used with the robot camera from this position.

3 - Bureau (RM)
 1 - Minneapolis

MCW/msr
 (4)

EX-100
 REC-16

100-3-69-7806

25
 20 MAY 28 1960

Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
 Special Agent in Charge

F B I

Date: 5/18/60

Transmit the following in

PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
IS - C

Br

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THE INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

NY 2359-S* advised that a meeting of leading CP functionaries was held this date in the 3rd floor Board Room at CP Headquarters, NYC. Among those in attendance were:

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GUS HALL
BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
ARNOLD JOHNSON
WILL WEINSTONE
HY LUMER
PHIL BART

W According to the informant, the meeting concerned itself with the possible preparation of an editorial for "The Worker" for a Party statement to be issued regarding the Summit meeting.

24 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
(1 - 100-3-81) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - New York (100-86624) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
1 - New York (100-86641) (415)

HOC:gmg
(7)

REC-74

100-3-69-7807

18 MAY 19 1960

COPY FILED IN 100-3-81
UNRECORDEDApproved: *730*
51 MAY 31 1960 Agent in Charge

Sent _____ M Per _____

730

NY 100-80641

CLARENCE HATHAWAY opened the discussion and stated that the decisive thing is their (U.S.) asserted right to fly planes at will over another country for the purpose of espionage and also the fact that they now assert that they will take these proposals to the UN, to force them on the Soviet Union. HATHAWAY stated that this indicates that they (U.S.) give up this point. did not

HATHAWAY said that in another paragraph "I" would say that "we" bring in the point that they (U.S) have their atomic planes constantly in the air and if their radar screen detects any object coming over, they send a whole mass of atomic planes in the direction of the Soviet Union.

IRVING POTASH said that in the "editorial" it should open up with the declaration that "we" deeply regret that the hopes of humanity in the Summit which "we" shared fully could not be realized. He said that "we" must point out that EISENHOWER, in saying that the flights have been suspended, is not enough because that does not recognize the fact that the flights are wrong and could be resumed at any time. "We" should have something in "The Worker" that equips our comrades to handle such questions as the "apology."

GUS HALL said "I" think "we" underestimated the seriousness of the crisis. Take the question of the policy of the U.S. - "double-dealing, two-faced, and gangster-like." On the one hand, the U.S. was talking about peace and negotiations and even taking some hesitating steps, but at the same time, following a DULLES policy in preparation for war. "I" am sure that this policy was not unknown to the Soviet Union, but you reach a point that if you allow the U.S. to continue negotiating and to continue preparations for war, then you get to a place where you are betraying the interests of the peace forces of the world. "I" think that the Soviet Union had decided that it had reached a point where you could not continue such a policy.

NY 100-80641

HALL stated that in his opinion, the situation has stabilized enough so that it is not going to change daily. "I" think we understand that and we do not have to discuss it any more. "We" have urgent problems, and that is how to mobilize the Party to give the Party material, the arguments and the outlook. After the Party is mobilized, we can mobilize the American people. Now JACK STACHEL has something on the concrete questions.

JACK STACHEL then made the following remarks:

The Party must be mobilized ideologically. He proposed that "we" need a statement that will unify and solidify the Party ideologically but "hitting out" at this conception that war has now become inevitable. STACHEL said that he would suggest that a group of comrades be selected to prepare what you might call speakers, material, a collection of documents, and statements, etc.

Continuing, STACHEL said, "I" propose that "we" have a special meeting within the next two weeks of all leading personnel in order to reach every member of every club, the idea being that before the month of June is over, "we" have mobilized the Party ideologically through our Party statement, speakers and leading personnel.

"I" propose that "we" go in the direction of unifying mass progressive peace forces around this situation. Comrades shall place themselves in contact with all left forces that exist around the Soviet-American Friendship Committee, certain national groups, former members of the Progressive Party, the "Guardian" and similar groups.

STACHEL said that "we" should reach out and talk to them personally and ask them what they think should be done in order to determine what joint things might be done. He said that ~~they~~ "we" should move in the direction of organizing mass meetings of a united front character.

NY 100-80641

WILLIAM WEINSTONE suggested the following in order to get the position of the Party before the wide masses of people: (1) GUS HALL should call a press conference (no date mentioned). (2) Possibly a representative of the Party should appear on TV.

BEN DAVIS proposed that a statement should be issued by the Party and that a mass membership meeting should be called, wherein each Party member would bring a non-Party person. DAVIS stated that the Party's view on KHRUSHCHEV's position in Paris is a great attraction to the broad masses of workers because they want to know what the Communists have to say about this situation.

IRVING POTASH commented that what KHRUSHCHEV said must be presented in a reasonable way. He said that a statement by the Party would be good, but more is needed. He suggested mass distribution of peace literature on this issue. POTASH also suggested that a meeting should be called under the auspices of "The Worker" and not the Party, in order to give a Communist Party spokesman an opportunity to explain what happened and what is the position of the Party.

Regarding the above, it is noted that on 5/18/60, NY 2353-S* advised that WILLIAM ALBERTSON, (CPUSA-NYD Organization Secretary), mentioned that an open meeting would be held on 5/25/60 at 7:30 p.m. at Central Plaza Annex, NYC, at which GUS HALL would speak on "What Happened at the Summit." According to ALBERTSON, the affair would be sponsored by "Friends of The Worker" and JAMES JACKSON would be the Chairman of this affair.

F B I

Date: 5/20/60

Transmit the following in _____
(Type in plain text or code)Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26044)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT
ORGANIZATION
IS-C
CINAL

CS LA 4008-S* has furnished information indicating that ARVILLA JACKSON, who has been doing general secretarial work and serving as a receptionist in the Southern California District headquarters office for the past few months, has had an offer of a new job doing general office work and will leave her job with the Party within the next week and a half. JACKSON recommended that the Party clubs located near the district headquarters office be contacted and requested to send a member over one day a week just to keep the office open and answer calls. JACKSON volunteered to come in on Saturdays and do all the mimeographing and other office chores.

BEN DOBBS, Executive Secretary, observed that he had been thinking of securing an answering service for the telephone inasmuch as half of the calls are from cranks anyway. DOBBS will look further into the possibilities of securing an answering service.

③ - Bureau (AIR MAIL) (REGISTERED)
 1 - San Francisco (INFO) (REGISTERED)
 3 - Los Angeles (100-26044) (100-43372 - CINAL)
 (100-44910 -)

WNP:DRU
 (7)

REC-14

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b7C

07 JUN 1 1960

MAY 23 1960

cc-Wick

cc-Brennan

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent _____

Per _____

INVESTIGATION
 CENTRAL SEARCH

REC 48

EX-108

frame all means to
this serial showing photograph
then 3/27/60

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/24/60 (u)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

CLASSIFIED BY 5/24/60
DECLASSIFIED ON 5/24/60

10/14/84 (u)

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b7C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau and New York are
one album of photographs of individuals who were in the
corridor outside the room in which was held the March 27,
1960, meeting of the National Committee of the CP, USA, in
the Midwest Hotel, 6 North Hamlin, Chicago, as an enclosure
to this memorandum.

Photographs indicated by (A) were identified by
CG 5824-S* on May 2, 1960. (u) Those indicated by (B) were
Identified by [redacted] on April 7, 1960. (u) b7D

2 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)
24 - New York (Encl. 1) (RM) (21 attachments to New York serials)
1-100- (CP, USA, ORGANIZATION)
1-100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) 1-100- (WILLIAM WEINSTONE)
1-100-56597 (PHIL HART)
1-100-23825 (BEN DAVIS, JR.)
1-100-1696 (ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN)
1-100-84994 (GUS HALL)
1-100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)
1-100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)
1-100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK)
1-100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG)
1-100-18065 (JACK STACHEL)
1-100-49430 (PAT TOOHEY)
1-100-79025 (MILDRED MC ADORY)
1-100-15946 (JAMES TORMEY)
1-100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN)
1-100-129629 (BILL ALBERTSON) REC 13 100-3-69-7809
1-100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY)
1-100-93665 (MIRIAM FRIEDLANDER)
1-100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)
1-100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.)
1-100-106126 [redacted]
1-100-25623 (ERIC BERT)
1-100-13473 (SIMON GERSON) EX-102
(Copies continued on 1A page)

PHOTO
APPROPRIATE AGENCIES
AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING
SLIP(S) BY [redacted]
DATE 10/14/74

b6
b7C

14 MAY 27 1960

REC 13-14-79

CLASS & E

REASON-FGM IN

1-2-4-2

DATE OF REVIEW 2/15/81

DAG:mec

(58)

5 JUN 8 1960

F258

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Photo

Photo

2 - Detroit (RM) (Encl. 2)
1-100-13420 (CARL WINTER)
1-100-13740 (HELEN WINTER)

3 - Los Angeles (RM) (Encl. 3)
1-100-4663 (BEN DOBES)
1-100-4486 (DOROTHY HEALEY)
1-100-4963 (PETTIS PERRY)

1 - Minneapolis (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-371 (SAM DAVIS) - Photo

2 - Philadelphia (RM) (Encl. 2)
1-65-1686 (TOM NABRIED)
1-65-4641 (DANNY RUBIN)

1 - Pittsburgh (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-14195 () (See cd)

1 - Cleveland (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-65-721 (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK) - Photo

1 - Baltimore (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-12076 (GEORGE MEYERS)

1 - Indianapolis (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-9529 () - Photo

1 - Boston (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-775 (HOMER BATES CHASE) - Photo

2 - San Francisco (RM) (Encl. 2)
1-65-1242 (MICKEY LIMA)
1-100- () - Photo

1 - Seattle (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-127 (BURT GALE NELSON) - Photo

15 - Chicago (RM) (Encl. 1)
1-100-30108
1-100-21951
1-100-20384
1-100-
1-100-20289
1-100-12459 (FLORA HALL)

(Copies continued on 1B page)

b6
b7C

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CG 100-33741

Change it

1 - 100-3470 (MORRIS CHILDS)
1 - 100-24729
1 - 100-12789
1 - 100-3313 (JACK KLING)
1 - 100-3546
1 - 100-18080
1 - 100-2748 (SAM KUSHNER)
1 - 100-12890 (EARL DURHAM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Photo

b6
b7c

- 1B -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

D E B

CG 100-33741

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

EXTREME CARE SHOULD BE TAKEN IN PROTECTING THE IDENTITIES OF INFORMANTS MENTIONED IN THIS MEMO.

This photo fisur was conducted by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] The original negatives are located in Chicago file 100-33741-1B17. Individual photographs are being forwarded to other offices as enclosures to this memorandum.

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b7C

Photo # Identifications Informants

1.	[redacted]	(B)	- no good
2. #1	[redacted]	(B)	
#2	CARL WINTER	(A) (B)	
3. #1	MIMI FRIEDLANDER	(A) (B)	b6 b7C
#2	CARL WINTER	(A) (B)	
4. #1	[redacted]	(A) (B)	
#2	[redacted]	(A) (B)	
5.	PAUL ROBESON, JR.	(A) (B)	
6. #1	HOMER BATES CHASE	(A) (B)	as
#2	LOUIS WEINSTOCK	(A) (B)	
7. #1	Unknown	(Not in Attendance)	
#2	PAT TOOHEY	(A) (B)	
8.	JACK STACHEL	(A) (B)	
9. #1	JAMES ALLEN	(A) (B)	
#2	BEN DAVIS, JR.	(A) (B)	
10.	[redacted]	(A) (B)	
11.	BILL ALBERTSON	(A) (B)	
12.	[redacted]	(A) (B)	
13.	HERBERT APTEKER	(A) (B)	b6 b7C
14. #1	MIMI FRIEDLANDER	(A) (B)	
#2	MILDRED MC ADORY	(A) (B)	
#3	TOM NABRIED	(A)	
15.	FLORA HALL	(A) (B)	
16.	HOMER BATES CHASE	(A) (B)	
17. #1	MORRIS CHILDS	(A) (B)	
#2	CARL WINTER	(A) (B)	
#3	GUS HALL	(A) (B)	
18.	ANTHONY KRCHMAREK	(A) (B)	
19. #1	MORRIS CHILDS	(A) (B)	
#2	GEORGE MEYERS	(A) (B)	
#3	CARL WINTER	(A) (B)	
20.	[redacted]	(A) (B)	
21.	JAMES TORMEY	(A) (B)	
22.	WILLIAM WEINSTONE	(A) (B)	
23.	BURT NELSON	(A) (B)	

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24.	ARNOLD JOHNSON	(A) (B)
25. #1	GERALDYNE/LIGHTFOOT	(A) (B)
#2	PETTIS PERRY	(A) (B)
26.		(A) (B)
27. #1	JACK KLING	(A) (B)
#2		(A)
28.		(A) (B)
29.	CLARENCE HATHAWAY	(A) (B)
30.	MICKEY LIMA	(A) (B)
31. #1	ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN	(A) (B)
#2	JIM TORMEY	(A) (B)
32.	RICHARD CRILEY	(A) (B)
33.		(A)
34.	HOMER BATES CHASE	(A) (B)
35.	DANNY RUBIN	(A) (B)
36.	BEN DOBBS, both photos	(A) (B)
37.	BETTY GANNETT, both photos	(A) (B)
38.	PHIL BART, both photos	(A) (B)
39.		(A) (B)
40.	SI GERSON, both photos	(A) (B)
41. #1	ERIC BERT	(A)
#1	ERIC BERT	(A) (B)
#2	SAM KUSHNER	(A) (B)
42.	EARL DURHAM, both photos	(A) (B)
43. #1	ERIC BERT	(A) (B)
#2	SAM KUSHNER	(A) (B)
	SAM KUSHNER	(A) (B)
44.	IRVING POTASH, all photos	(A) (B)
45.	ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG	(A) (B)
46.	JAMES ALLEN, both photos	(A) (B)
47.		both photos (B)
48.	DOROTHY HEALEY, all photos	(A) (B)
49.	HELEN WINTER, all photos	(A) (B)

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1 - NY 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT) (415)
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May 13, 1960

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Time, Type and Place of Meeting

On Friday afternoon, May 13, 1960, the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) met in Communist Party (CP) Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. This was the first day of a scheduled three day meeting.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the National Executive Committee were in attendance:

(u)

PHIL BART
BENJAMIN DAVIS
EUGENE DENNIS
GUS HALL
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
(u) X ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HYMAN LUMER
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

The following invited guests were in attendance:

BILL ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
HERBERT APTHEKER
MORRIS CHILDS
BETTY GANNETT
(u) X ARNOLD JOHNSON

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ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK

(u) ~~J~~ JAMES JOHNSON was the Chairman of this session.

Remarks on Some Aspects of Electoral Policy
of the CPUSA by JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL spoke on some aspects of electoral policy. He explained that he was not making a report and was not issuing a policy statement since all of these were made at the meeting of the National Committee in Chicago.

STACHEL referred to three aspects of Party policy in regard to electoral matters and said that this policy was adopted as far back as 1955. These three main aspects are:

1. The CP participates in elections to influence their outcome;
2. The CP raises issues, sharpens demands and mobilizes people;
3. The independent role of the CP in bringing about a realignment and in raising its own problems.

Then STACHEL stated that two new factors have influenced the electoral situation within the last week and these are:

1. The sharpened world situation and the introduction of tensions as a result of the U-2 flight over the USSR;
2. The victory of Senator KENNEDY in West Virginia and the elimination of Senator HUMPHREY from the Presidential campaign.

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Then STACHEL polemized against those in the CP who do not understand the three fundamental aspects of CP electoral policy and say that since the CP is not participating in the elections with a National ticket then the entire Party policy on elections must be wrong.

Next STACHEL referred to the remarks of GUS HALL at the last meeting of the National Committee. HALL had said that the books are not yet closed on the nomination of candidates for President. There are mass movements in the making in the United States and these mass movements may influence the outcome of both the Democratic and Republican National Conventions.

STACHEL stated that while he would not analyze the present international situation he would use it as a reference. There is no question but that all who know politics, including the newspaper columnists, say that the Republican Party lost its best issue during the last two weeks and that is the issue of peace. The shooting down of an American plane over the Soviet Union has made peace even more of a critical issue in the election campaign than it was up to now and it cannot be submerged. RICHARD NIXON is in a tough spot and is the biggest loser since he is identified with the policy of the Administration. There is a possibility now that JACK KENNEDY or ADLAI E. STEVENSON may be the candidate of the Democratic Party. The thing to note is the emergence of ADLAI STEVENSON. At this point STACHEL referred to the speech made by STEVENSON in Chicago on May 12, 1960.

Then STACHEL stated that the issues raised at the meeting of the National Committee in Chicago in the reports of GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS are still the dominating issues and these are peace and civil rights.

STACHEL said that the CP ought to choose areas or states in which it can run candidates for office. The CP ought to struggle for realignment in both the Democratic and Republican Parties and should point to the limitations

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of the two-party system. The CP ought to work for the emergence of a new party, whatever the name of such a party might be.

Next STACHEL proposed the bringing together of non-Communist Left and progressive people who were formerly in the Progressive Party or in the American Labor Party in New York. Some of these people are now frustrated politically and are often victims of sectarianism and the Trotskyites. The CP ought to use its initiative to bring such people together in order to work for a labor party or to support some independent candidates.

STACHEL proposed that wherever possible the CP should nominate candidates in its own name or in some other name. The running of candidates in the name of the CP is not contradictory to the three basic aspects of the electoral policy of the CP. Whether or not the CP nominates candidates in its own name is not a question of principle. If the CP does not nominate candidates in its own name it is because practical problems stand in the way. It would, however, be good for the CP to run candidates wherever this is possible since this would strengthen the legality of the CP.

STACHEL then stated that in the meeting of the subcommittee on electoral policy of the CP they discussed the difficulties of getting CP candidates on the ballot. ARNOLD JOHNSON differed with the majority of the members of the subcommittee. JOHNSON said that even if the CP nominated a Presidential candidate and got this candidate on the ballot in only one state, this would be an advance over the present situation and the Party could use this to campaign in the entire country.

Continuing STACHEL said that the majority of the subcommittee did not agree with ARNOLD JOHNSON. This majority felt that it would be better for the CP to launch

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a campaign to amend the laws to permit minority parties to get on the ballot. If necessary the CP should work for an amendment to the U.S. Constitution so that minority parties can get on the ballot.

Then STACHEL suggested that the CP do the following:

1. Adopt an election platform;
2. Nominate candidates in various states under various labels - these candidates to popularize the CP position on many issues. That the CP set up some machinery, including a platform committee, and prepare an election platform to be ready in June. Aim to distribute one million copies of this platform;
3. Election conferences should be held in all states wherever it is possible;
4. That a National Election Conference of the CP be held in September, possibly simultaneously with a meeting of the National Committee;
5. That an election campaign committee be established and consist of from 35 to 50 people, one-third of these to be Negroes, some to be women and some to be representatives of the National Groups. That this point be referred to the Secretariat in order to get legal advice in regard to it.

Remarks of BEN DAVIS

BEN DAVIS stated that he agreed, in general, with the suggestions of JACK STACHEL including the three basic points on electoral policy which were adopted a long time ago. However, this is not enough. We are in a new situation. We have to clarify the religious issue. We have to stress the youth issue. JACK KENNEDY received a big vote in West Virginia because he is attracting the youth. We must stress the spy case - the shooting down of the U-2 plane over the Soviet Union.

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DAVIS said that there is an upsurge among the people in the United States. The Negroes are fighting in the North and in the South. The aged are fighting for a health program. The reason the United States sent a plane over the Soviet Union was to create hysteria and to reverse the upsurge of the people in the United States. Most of the Democrats are in the camp of President EISENHOWER.

DAVIS suggested that the CP ought to fight to get a Presidential candidate on the ballot. If the CP is ruled off the ballot then it should appeal to the United Nations. We can use the appeal of Secretary of State CHRISTIAN HERTER in behalf of the counter-revolutionaries in Cuba. If HERTER can demand rights for the Cuban counter-revolutionaries, then we can demand rights for Americans.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON emphasized the need for an independent CP National ticket even if this ticket gets on the ballot in only one State.

Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS

EUGENE DENNIS stated that the CP might review the three basic aspects of electoral policy but he believes that they are correct even though they have been subjected to change. These three aspects of electoral policy have had to be given different tactical emphasis in the past.

DENNIS stated that he disagreed with the suggestion of ARNOLD JOHNSON. He described it as a gimmick and said that the CP should not try any gimmicks. He said that he also disagreed with the agenda for this meeting of the NEC and said that it was most unfortunate that the agenda had already been established. The NEC should have discussed the international situation. This is the most important thing today. After a

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discussion on the international situation then electoral policy could have been discussed with a review of the international situation as a background.

DENNIS referred to contradictions in the EISENHOWER administration. He stated that this administration blows hot and cold on the question of peace. It talks peace and then adopts a large military budget. First it gave NELSON ROCKEFELLER a big play and then RICHARD NIXON a big play.

Then DENNIS stated that he thinks that the Republicans may still change their minds and try to recoup the peace issue before the election campaign is over. If they do not then the CP has to be prepared to raise the slogan, Defeat Nixon at all costs. In the Democratic Party also there is a sharpening of the peace issue. The peace issue is emerging as the big issue. It has been taken up by ADLAI STEVENSON, HUBERT HUMPHREY, JACK KENNEDY, Governor ROBERT B. MEYNER of New Jersey and Governor MENNOM WILLIAMS of Michigan.

Continuing DENNIS stated that at the beginning of this year the Truman- Acheson Democrats emphasized the need for a bigger defense budget and criticized the administration for the big missile gap between the Soviet Union and the United States. There has been a sharpening of the struggle inside the Democratic Party. The Truman- Acheson Wing has been set back. The policy of Senator LYNDON JOHNSON will not prevail.

DENNIS then talked of new opportunities in and around the Democratic Party. He stated however, that he does not believe that the Truman forces in the Democratic Party are finished. The merger of the Truman, Lyndon Johnson, Stuart Symington forces in the Democratic Party is possible. We should influence as many people as we can, Democrats and Republicans, to try to strengthen the anti-Truman and anti-Symington candidates. We should encourage the STEVENSON position and the STEVENSON candidacy. In some States the progressive forces should work for a coalition of Stevenson, Kennedy, Humphrey forces in order to defeat the Truman-Johnson forces.

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Next DENNIS came to the defense of JACK KENNEDY. He said that he disagrees with those comrades who say that KENNEDY is a reactionary. Some have even called KENNEDY a clerical fascist. This is wrong. On the question of peace the position of KENNEDY is just as good as the position of HUMPHREY. Labor does not look upon KENNEDY as the real devil behind the Landrum-Griffin Bill. Most of the time KENNEDY voted right on labor questions. Even when there was a discussion of peace in the United States Senate, KENNEDY was among a handful of Senators who expressed their own position.

DENNIS stated that in the Lower House of Congress there are at least 20 pro-peace Congressmen. They should not be neglected in the coming elections. They should get support. Also we should look around for new possibilities in regard to pro-peace candidates. In concluding, DENNIS stated that he would like to know what happened in the 12 regional conferences of COPE of the AFL-CIO and what role the unions are playing in preparation for the elections. He concluded by saying that he is against a CP Presidential ticket in 1960.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated, we are too general. We ought to be more concrete. Our big job is to get labor and Negroes to act independently and to act for the nomination of candidates they desire instead of tailing behind or working within the two major parties. LIGHTFOOT stated that as an example of what he had in mind a Negro was nominated on the Democratic Party ticket in Cleveland for the Ohio legislature even though his candidacy had been originally opposed by the trade union leadership in Cleveland. LIGHTFOOT said that the CP played a role in mobilizing support behind the candidacy of this Negro.

Then LIGHTFOOT said, we need people who can work like DOC BLUMBERG used to work; people who know the election laws in each State and can prepare candidates who will win.

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Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY stated that at a convention of the Democratic Party in Southern California an official of the Machinists Union was nominated to run against Congressman DOYLE, a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. She stated that DOYLE was repudiated and this labor leader was nominated.

Remarks of GUS HALL

GUS HALL stated that JACK STACHEL did not intend to give a report but what STACHEL said was all right. HALL stated that he agrees with CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT that the CP has to get to work in a practical way to see that certain candidates win. The CP should not allow candidates to fall between two chairs. The CP will have to be concrete.

Next HALL stated that he favors the setting up of a committee to take up the specific role of the CP in the election campaign. The chief task of the CP is to raise the mass movements to a higher plane. In a sense candidates are secondary. Ever so often candidates are molded by movements. Movements are the main thing. HALL stated that he is convinced that peace will emerge as the main issue in this election. This is so because the peace movement is going to develop in a new way.

In regard to the question of CP candidates, HALL said that he knows that the obstacles are terrific. The CP has to consider that those who sign petitions may lose their jobs, may be subject to persecution, etc. Yet he said he thinks that the CP should nominate candidates wherever and whenever it can.

HALL mentioned that on Saturday, May 7, 1960, the Secretariat of the CPUSA met in New York City with a major portion of the leadership of the New England District CPUSA. HALL commented that HOMER BATES CHASE was meek in comparison with the others from the New England District

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leadership who were present. They attacked the leadership of the CPUSA. They said that they mistrust the Secretariat and the Party leadership. They persisted in the original demand of HOMER CHASE, made at the Chicago meeting of the National Committee, that the CP declare the Democratic Party to be a war party. They were rebuffed by the Secretariat. This discussion took place before the shooting down of the U-2 plane over the Soviet Union. HALL said that he wondered what the people from the New England District would be saying now about the Republican Party.

Then HALL said, we should join with those who are looking for support for ADLAI STEVENSON. We should support any and all candidates who separate themselves from the pro-war policies. Peace is the critical issue of the campaign and those who are against tensions should be given aid.

HALL said that he would not argue about JACK KENNEDY and will leave the question of the attitude the CP should take toward KENNEDY open. He said that he wanted to urge the comrades to keep in mind a candidate's base.

Parenthetically speaking, HALL was indicating that he was not in agreement with the viewpoint of EUGENE DENNIS in regard to JACK KENNEDY. ~~(u)~~

In regard to the question of CP candidates, HALL said, we have to undo the concept that we are on principle against putting forth CP candidates. He said that he would add a point to the tasks of the CP in the election campaign. He would mobilize all of the minority parties and put up a real fight to expose unfair election laws and make it possible to change these laws. He said that ARNOLD JOHNSON's ideas should be considered as probing ideas. He too believes that JOHNSON's ideas sound like a gimmick and the CP will not solve anything with a gimmick.

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Remarks of JAMES JACKSON

JAMES JACKSON stated that the CP ought to have a large, broad campaign lasting for two or three years in order to change the laws to permit minority parties to get on the ballot. Also the CP should use the 1960 election campaign to mobilize two thousand CP members and sympathizers to give ten hours each week in order to visit people. This would mean that 200 thousand people can be visited during the months of the election campaign. It would also present the opportunity of emerging from this campaign with the addition of from 10 thousand to 20 thousand subscriptions for "The Worker".

Remarks of JAMES ALLEN

After a couple of words from ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, JIM ALLEN said that the image of President EISENHOWER as a man of peace has been destroyed. With this destruction of EISENHOWER as a man of peace, as a result of the latest international events, RICHARD NIXON has also been destroyed. ALLEN also stated that he favored the getting together of Left and progressive elements in order to nominate independent candidates.

Remarks of HYMAN LUMER

HYMAN LUMER stated that he is in agreement with the remarks of JACK STACHEL. He thinks that STACHEL is correct in saying that the U-2 plane issue will result in more pressures for peace. Even the ruling circles in the United States will be shook up by these pressures. LUMER stated that the activities of the state organizations of CPUSA will determine to what extend the CP can come forward in the 1960 election campaign so that the people can see what the CP stands for and fights for.

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Remarks of IRVING POTASH

In his remarks IRVING POTASH started to argue with the Party position on electoral policy as set forth by JACK STACHEL. As he spoke, however, it appeared that POTASH was in agreement with STACHEL. It was determined that POTASH, who has poor hearing, had not correctly heard some of the remarks of STACHEL.

POTASH stated that the CP should plow the ground now in order to see what can be done to get CP candidates on the ballot. He said he was opposed to a campaign for an amendment to the United States Constitution in order to permit minority parties to get on the ballot since such a campaign might take a quarter of a century.

Remarks of CLARENCE HATHAWAY

CLARENCE HATHAWAY stated that he was a member of the subcommittee on electoral policy which had met with JACK STACHEL. He said that he favors a fight for a Federal law to lift the election restrictions against minority parties. This fight should be based on the 14th and 15th Amendments to the United States Constitution.

Then HATHAWAY stated that it is necessary to readjust the CP policy of having National Committee members meet with CP clubs. He said that the New York District has two thousand members in 125 organized clubs. The National Committee members cannot possibly visit all 125 clubs in a given period of time. Other forms will have to be found in order to reach the membership.

Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER talked about a Midwest conference of leading members of the Democratic Party. WINTER had also discussed this conference at the Chicago meeting of the National Committee. He stressed the role of the trade unions

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in Michigan in the election campaign. He said that the State Convention of the Democratic Party in Michigan, which was held a week ago, went even farther than the Midwest Conference of the leading members of the Democratic Party. One half of the Michigan delegates elected to the National Convention of the Democratic Party are trade unionists.

WINTER stated that he was opposed to placing too much stress on CP candidates. He said that he was also against the involvement of the CP in a fight for the rights of minority parties in regard to placing candidates on the ballot since it would divert the CP from mass work.

Closing Remarks of JACK STACHEL

After a word or two from JIM WEST, JACK STACHEL made some closing remarks, which he said would not be a summary of the discussion. He also stated that he would not ask for a vote on his thoughts or suggestions. However, he would have proposals to make before this meeting of the NEC is adjourned. He said he still favors unity of the Left, that is meeting with other left groups and other progressives on the matter of issues. In this regard he also favors joint support of candidates.

As this session adjourned it was agreed that the NEC members representing state organizations of the CP must report, before this NEC meeting is concluded, on the prospect for CP candidates in their States.

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- 1 - NY 128814 (CP, NYD - ORGANIZATION) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-97167 ("POLITICAL AFFAIRS") (415)
- 1 - NY 97-169 (PUBLISHERS NEW PRESS) (415)
- 1 - NY 100- [redacted] ("WORLD MARXIST REVIEW")
- 1 - NY 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON) (414)
- 1 - NY 100-32826 (JAMES ALLEN) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-80532 (HERBERT APTHEKER) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (414)
- 1 - [redacted] (BETTY GANNETT) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (422)
- 1 - NY 100-16785 (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-129255 (DANNY RUBIN) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-18065 (JACK STACHEL) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-21421 (ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)
- 1 - NY 100-9595 (WILLIAM WEINSTONE) (415)

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NY 100-80641

May 15, 1960

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

On Saturday, 5/14/60, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CP, USA met in CP headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. This was the second day of a scheduled 3-day meeting.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the NEC were in attendance:

PHIL BART
BENJAMIN DAVIS
GUS HALL
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HYMAN LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

The following guests were in attendance:

BILL ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
HERBERT APTHEKER
MORRIS CHILDS
BETTY GANNETT
ARNOLD JOHNSON
DANNY RUBIN
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

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At the suggestion of GUS HALL, IRVING POTASH was the chairman of this session.

Report by HYMAN LUMER
On Education and Ideology

HYMAN LUMER delivered a report on education and ideology. This report was written and will be mimeographed.

LUMER stated that the CP bases itself on scientific theory and not on a rule of thumb. The CP, USA brought Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. and studied it. The Party organized schools and classes for the purpose of study. However, at times, the CP, USA studied Marxism-Leninism in a mechanical manner and forgot the peculiarities of the U.S. At times, the Party forgot how to apply Marxism-Leninism in the US.

LUMER then went into a recitation on the decline in the study of theory in the CP, USA in the past decade. He attributed this decline to the attacks of the U.S. Government on the Party, the period of McCarthyism, which forced a reduction in the efforts of the Party to keep schools operating, etc. Some schools had to be closed down and attendance at other schools declined for various reasons. The McCarthyite atmosphere had something to do with the decline in the study of theory. Later, there was an onslaught against the CP when the revisionists took the offensive against Marxism-Leninism. Ultra-left dogmatism also affected the Party. All of these things shook the confidence in the Party. The Party has still not overcome or repaired the damage it suffered.

Next, LUMER stated that there have been big changes in the Party which have resulted from its consolidation. There is a new interest in theory and schooling. In New York, the School of Social Science was re-established in 1958. Young people under SCOPE, organized independent classes, although

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some of the curriculums in these classes were too narrow. At intervals, the Illinois District had some modest ventures in classes and schools. Some of the other districts have had classes from time to time but there is still no systematic effort.

LUMER was self-critical and critical of the National Office, CP, USA because sufficient leadership was not given in the field of education. He emphasized the importance of the club as one of the most important forms for Party education. He then read some statistics on titles published by the CP, USA for study. These statistics have been set forth in a mimeographed document with the heading, "Material Issued for Mass Distribution."

Then LUMER stated that most of the districts of the CP, USA do not have an educational apparatus. However, the New York District and the Illinois District, with DAVID ENGELSTEIN in charge, do have an organized educational apparatus. There is a beginning of an educational apparatus in Michigan under the leadership of HELEN WINTER. LUMER praised the efforts of HELEN WINTER in this regard.

LUMER stated that in the Center or National Office of the CP, USA there is no real educational apparatus, although some individuals work on education. LUMER said that WILLIAM WEINSTONE gives him some assistance but, in general, education is still being brushed aside. The districts also have to be self-critical. Efforts are needed in each district to establish an educational apparatus.

Next, LUMER said that there is very little cadre training. The present cadre received training a long time ago. Now, the Party has what might be called random training of cadre. There is self-study, but few trained teachers. Going into the matter of theory, LUMER stated, in our Party today we have too few ideological militants who would defend theory. He cited the lack of defense of the CP ideology during

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its struggles. He also cited the growth of white chauvinism and said that there is not enough struggle against it.

LUMER stated that the CP,USA has lost the habit of reading and of self-study. One might say we do not have a reading membership today. This can be illustrated by the amount of printed theoretical material which remains undistributed. LUMER then talked of the possibility of resolving the question in regard to the ideological training of cadre. He stated this possibility exists because of the new atmosphere in the Party and the unity behind the effort to solve the problems.

LUMER stated that the training of educators to teach the Party is an important task of the Party. The training of club leaders is the next most important task.

Then LUMER proposed a six-months study period on the theory and practice of Marxism-Leninism. This would include the introduction of new things to study, such as "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," by OTTO KUUSINEN. He mentioned that in Michigan a summary of the review of "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism" which appeared in the "World Marxist Review" was printed and circulated for study. The May issue of "Political Affairs" has reprinted Chapter 18 of "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism," which was translated by the National Office of the CP,USA. A couple of articles by BOHR (Phonetic) which were written on "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism" and appeared in the "World Marxist Review" are being printed and circulated by the New York District book store, the Jefferson Book Store. When all of "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism" has been translated, then the time can be set for the six-months study period.

LUMER then spoke about the use of the "World Marxist Review." He said that this magazine is very valuable but the total circulation in the U.S. is just a little over 800 copies. He proposed a drive to double this circulation.

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Next LUMER stated that "Party Affairs" will continue and will be revised. It will be a different type of publication, with more educational and organizational material.

LUMER also proposed the setting up of a national organization and education apparatus. The task of this apparatus should be that of issuing study outlines and organizing schools. The apparatus should be sub-divided into departments. LUMER proposed that he be in charge of organizing schools or education apparatus and that he contact the districts in this regard. He proposed that WILLIAM WEINSTONE work in the area of cadre training. Someone not LUMER, should be in charge of agitation, even though he has that task at present. The more important districts should assign cadre for similar tasks.

Remarks of PHIL BART

PHIL BART talked about the loss of cadre and the need to retrain cadre. He said that the main losses were among the middle cadre. They were of the age level of 25 to 40 years. Today, the average club chairman has been in the CP for 20 years. This means that the Party has not trained any new cadre and is not training any new cadre now. The training of the middle leadership is a most important task.

BART also stated that shop and industrial clubs are not educating themselves. They are not discussing theory or ideology. They busy themselves with immediate problems in the shop or trade union.

Remarks of DANNY RUBIN

DANNY RUBIN talked about a youth club in Philadelphia which discussed theory.

Subsequently, others speaking in this discussion period stated that the youth club in Philadelphia was the best

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example of club training in the study of theory which had come to the attention of the National Office of the CP, USA.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL stated that everyone in the CP, USA, in one form or another, must be a teacher. He stated that he helped to get some Puerto Ricans in his club but had them separated and placed into a new club for their own good because of the manner in which his club functions.

Next, STACHEL stated that because of a lack of understanding of theory and a lack of education, the Party, on the lower level, does not react to events soon enough. Therefore, if the leading comrades would meet with the clubs, they could raise the level of education and get the clubs to react faster to current events.

Remarks of GUS HALL

GUS HALL emphasized the importance of theory and ideology. He said, we really have no cadre, not even for the clubs. He compared the situation in the Party to a forest fire that burns down most of the trees. There are but a few old and strong trees standing and some shoots starting to come up around the burned-out stumps. A good forester would tend to all that is left and would pay particular attention to the young shoots so that they will grow. This the CP needs to do also.

HALL stated that the top leadership of the CP is not equipped to train others. Therefore, it is necessary to raise the education level of this leadership. There is a need to cut out bombast and long-windedness, a need to quit being so shallow minded and a need to really begin to study and to help educate others.

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Remarks of BETTY GANNETT

BETTY GANNETT stated that the fight for the establishment of Marxism-Leninism and the application of Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. is the most important thing. She also stated that "Political Affairs" should be analyzed as to its education value.

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that since he was not present on the previous day he wanted to state that he thinks that the CP ought to run candidates in the 1960 elections.

WEINSTONE then talked about the study of theory. He said that when he was abroad recently he was in a discussion with a well-known and leading comrade (possibly OTTO KUUSINEN, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union). WEINSTONE stated that this comrade asked him whether the CP, USA was conducting education classes. WEINSTONE stated that he felt that it was significant that he was asked this question and that it was not he who had first mentioned it to this leading comrade. WEINSTONE also talked about the importance of the new book, "The Foundations of Marxism-Leninism."

WEINSTONE then stated that he doubted that he could accept the assignment for cadre training which HY LUMER had suggested for him. He said that he does not feel well and that his poor health is beginning to affect his work. Therefore, he does not think that he could undertake such an assignment.

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that the revisionists were responsible for the neglect of theory by the CP, USA.

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Remarks of HERBERT APTHEKER

HERBERT APTHEKER stated that there is too much inner thinking in the Party. Everyone uses stale expressions. He stated that over the years he has written a dozen books. No one has commented to him that they have read any of these books. He stated that he knows that these books are not being circulated.

Remarks of JAMES WEST.

JAMES WEST talked about the establishment of an education department in the Illinois District of the CP, USA. He also stated that he had learned that last year the Chicago Council for American-Soviet Friendship had sold \$14,000 worth of literature, most of which was Soviet books and publications. He cited this as an illustration of the growing interest in the Soviet Union and Communism.

Remarks of LOUIS WEINSTOCK

LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated that there are plenty of members in the CP who can be a part of the cadre. He said that he is a member of the Painters Club in the New York District. Suddenly, he came to the conclusion that there are probably a dozen club organizers in this club. The club holds meetings every other week and the members discuss current events and theory. Each member could lead a club and he has decided that this is what he is going to do.

Remarks of DOROTHY HEALEY

DOROTHY HEALEY stated that the CP, USA does not apply Marxism-Leninism to the U.S. Many books are being released which analyze the American scene but we in the CP do not do this. We do not analyze events deeply, factually and theoretically. She stated that a retired Naval intelligence officer recently wrote a book and in this book he gives a better analysis of Communists in relation to country than she has read in any publication of the CP, USA.

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Remarks of MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS stated that the CP, USA has left to others the task of writing books about basic problems in the U.S. He also stated that the Party has been talking for a dozen years about the lack of cadre and training, but has not analyzed why this situation exists, so that it can be corrected.

Remarks of IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH stated, we do not teach Marxism-Leninism as a science.

REPORT OF JAMES JACKSON ON
EDUCATION AND PROPAGANDA

JAMES JACKSON made a report during which he read several pages of a volume by LENIN on education and propaganda. This volume was originally written in 1897.

JACKSON stated that agitation is supposed to arouse people on some immediate issue. Propaganda is more of a long-term concept designed to plant the seeds of ideas in the minds of the more advanced thinkers. He referred to a remark by GUS HALL that the agitational material of the CP, USA is abominable.

Then JACKSON talked about what is necessary to get an audience. He stated, the CP must compete with Madison Avenue. The advertising in the U.S. is very slick and very effective. The CP must put out reading material which will compete with Madison Avenue. Skills in the Party which can do this must be utilized. The Party must use the art of sloganizing in order to develop good propaganda. The Party needs agitators and propagandists who have mastered theory and combined it with craftsmanship to produce readable and attractive material.

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JACKSON urged that the CP,USA look for outlets to reach people. If the Party does not use radio and/or television, it will not reach the people.

JACKSON also discussed the use of "The Worker" as an agitator and propagandist. He said that plans are now being formulated for a daily paper and that perhaps the daily will be issued again by 1961.

Remarks of ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG, after a remark or two by ANTHONY KRCHMAREK, stated that the revisionists' assault against the CP,USA resulted in a lessening in the distribution of theoretical literature. However, he has plenty of titles on hand. The CP,USA is not using these titles. Universities, colleges and other schools are now the best customers for the Marxist classics.

Remarks of BENJAMIN DAVIS

BENJAMIN DAVIS said that he agrees in general with the line of the reports of HY LUMER and JIM JACKSON but feels that they should have used more concrete examples. He said, ideology is most important at this decisive stage of the CP,USA. He is of the opinion that much of the CP,USA does not know the difference between ideology and political line. We are still far from having ideological unity in the CP. Actually, we have a united front on ideology in the leadership. We must distinguish between factional approaches and ideological struggle.

Remarks of JACK STACHEL

JACK STACHEL stated, even one candle can light the way on a dark night. If we begin modestly, we can give leadership. "The Worker" should be the candidate in the 1960 elections. If we increase the circulation of "The Worker" in the 1960 election campaign, this increase in circulation can be considered the votes of the CP.

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Remarks of CARL WINTER

CARL WINTER criticized the content of the reports of LUMER and JACKSON, although he said they were not too bad. He said he was surprised that the reports omitted an analysis of "Political Affairs" and "The Worker."

WINTER stated that he does not agree that the CP has to compete with Madison Avenue. He said that while he would like to see the CP have livelier leaflets, it must appeal to the workers. Many workers are suspicious of leaflets printed on slick paper. When JIM JACKSON was in a CP club in Detroit, Michigan, the workers followed the CP. The workers received leaflets which were badly printed from a technical standpoint but they dealt with the problems of the workers.

Remarks of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that it is necessary to review the question of why it is so difficult to get cadre. PHIL BART, MORRIS CHILDS and others have raised the problem. Until we tackle it in a practical way and take into consideration the overall needs of the individual, we will not get results. He said that he knows from experience that it is almost impossible to get people to take CP positions.

Remarks of HERBERT APTHEKER

After a remark or two by BETTY GANNETT on the need for agitational material, HERBERT APTHEKER stated, we must find the key to put into a person's mind. Then, we must turn that key so as to expose the lies of the U.S. Government. We have a government of lies, as indicated by the statements on the U-2 flight over the Soviet Union.

APTHEKER stated that the Party must put passion and feeling into its agitation. It must learn how to agitate and

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propagandize for democracy, socialism and patriotism. We have to destroy the image of Communists in relation to their country. In truth, we are the patriots. We fight for peace and fight to destroy the lies of the Government and this is done for the good of our country. This is one of the most important things to be done in agitation and propaganda work.

Remarks of LOUIS WEINSTOCK

LOUIS WEINSTOCK stated that an advisory committee for "The Worker" has been established. No one should be surprised if this committee should start a drive for \$100,000 to \$150,000 to be raised through donations and possibly the sale of bonds and other forms of fund-raising. This drive would lay the basis for re-publication of the "Daily Worker."

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT objected that it was first necessary to get another 10,000 to 20,000 subscriptions for "The Worker."

Remarks of GUS HALL

GUS HALL stated that it is his opinion that not enough books are being published. He stated that he has heard the same story from ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG on numerous occasions. TRACHTENBERG had better stop talking about old titles. We need a new list of titles, books and pamphlets. He said he has told this to TRACHTENBERG before and is telling him again. TRACHTENBERG has got to get out of the past.

Next, HALL stated, we need a shaking up (of the leadership of the CP, USA). In style, form and content, our literature reads like it was put out by people who do not care if they influence a single soul or if anybody reads it. Some of this stuff is put out for the record.

HALL said he is of the opinion that the CP needs to compete with Madison Avenue. The CP needs modern stuff.

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We are the last ones to change. Even religious sects are putting out material that is readable. The latest leaflet, issued by the New York District on the Foran Bill, shows a little improvement.

Next HALL stated, we have to develop a system of finding out what effect our material has on people. Where we have CP members in a factory, we should distribute a leaflet at that factory. Then, the CP members should talk to the people in the factory to determine what they think of the issues raised in the leaflet. We better look into this or we might just as well shoot the stuff into the air.

HALL suggested that the CP set up a couple of watch dog committees consisting of from 40 to 50 people from the National Office and districts throughout the country. One committee would read "Political Affairs" and send opinions and critiques. These opinions do not need to be signed. Another committee would read "The Worker" and send in comments about it. In this way, the Party may learn what is wrong with its publications.

Remarks of IRVING POTASH

IRVING POTASH stated that perhaps the CP, USA should follow the example of the CP of China. The Chinese CP asks the people down below about an issue before putting out a leaflet. POTASH said he tried to follow this practice in regard to the steel strike. He talked to the people in the steel industry before issuing a leaflet.

Remarks of WILLIAM WEINSTONE

WILLIAM WEINSTONE, in an agitational speech, said that more passion and more heat is needed in the propaganda speeches if the Party speakers want the people to believe them. Most of the speakers read their material as if they do not believe it themselves.

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Summary by JAMES JACKSON

In a short summary, JAMES JACKSON emphasized the role of "The Worker" as the best agitator for the Party. He said that each week, "The Worker" may contain 20 items that could be used for agitation. Also, on occasion, "The Worker" is a propagandist, but it is not being appreciated for these roles. For example, not one district sent in an extra order for the special pre-Summit issue.

Summary by HYMAN LUMER

HYMAN LUMER, in a short summary, agreed with some of the criticism voiced during the discussion period. He proposed that his report and that of JACKSON be mimeographed and that certain sections of the reports be sent to the districts for discussion. LUMER then proposed that both reports be adopted.

HALL asked if LUMER intended that LUMER's suggestions be included in the motion for adoption. LUMER replied in the affirmative. The NEC adopted both the report of LUMER and that of JACKSON.

Information Report on Cuba
By MORRIS CHILDS

MORRIS CHILDS gave a 45-minute information report on Cuba. The information contained in this report has been reported elsewhere.

After this report by CHILDS, the session of 5/14/60 adjourned.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 01-18-2012

FBI

DATE: 5/17/60

Transmit the following in **PLAIN TEXT**

Via AIRTEL (Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA, - ORGANIZATION
IS-C
CINAL

G. D. *John*
J. H. *John*
W. P. *John*
T. W. *John*
B. C. *John*

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)

2 - Baltimore (100-12464) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1 - 100-12076) (GEORGE MEYERS)

6 - Chicago A [REDACTED] (RM)

{ 1 - [REDACTED]
{ 1 - 100-33741) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION)
{ 1 - 100-3470) (MORRIS CHILDS)
{ 1 - 61-867) (CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT)
{ 1 - 100-20289) [REDACTED]

2 - Cleveland (100-17257) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1 - 65-721) (ANTHONY KRCHMAREK)

2 - Detroit (100-2050) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1 - 100-13420) (CARL WINTER)

2 - Los Angeles (100-20644) (CP, USA - ORGANIZATION) (RM)
(1 - 100-4486) (DOROTHY HEALEY)

1 - Milwaukee (100-42-CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS) (RM)

1 - Minneapolis (100-) (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS) (RM)

2 - Newark (100-) (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS) (RM)
(1 - 100-19431) (PAT TOOHEY)

1 - NY 100-87211 (CP, USA - FACTIONALISM) (415)
1 - NY 100-80634 (CP, USA - FARMERS MATTERS) (415)
1 - NY 100-86624 (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS) (415)
1 - NY 100-56579 (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - NY 100-25623 (ERIK BERT) (422)
1 - NY 100-23825 (BENJAMIN DAVIS) (414)
1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)

100-3-69

COPIES CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE

REC- 69

4 MAY 18 1960

1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

EX 109.

Approved: _____ Sent
by (Special Agent in Charge)

M Per

62 JUN 2 1960

NY 100-80641

UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE INFORMATION ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT
THE IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* orally furnished the information on the
following pages to SA [redacted] on May 15, 1960.
This information was reduced to writing on May 17, 1960.

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COPIES CONTINUED

1 - NY 100-5106	(CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (422)
1 - NY 100-16785	(JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - NY 100-105078	(HYMAN LUMER) (415)
1 - NY 100-48033	(IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-18065	(JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - NY 100-49430	(PAT TOCHER) (41)

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May 15, 1960

Time, Type and Place of Meeting

On Sunday afternoon, May 15, 1960, there was an Executive Session of the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the CPUSA after the conclusion of the three-day enlarged meeting of the NEC. This Executive Session was held in CP Headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the NEC were in attendance:

PHIL BART
BENJAMIN DAVIS
GUS HALL
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
Clark CLARENCE LIGHTFOOT
HYMAN LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

Also in attendance, at the specific request of GUS HALL, was MORRIS CHILDS.

CPUSA Farm Conference in Minneapolis on May 28 and 29, 1960

It was announced that GUS HALL, ERIK BERT and PAT TOOHEY will attend the CPUSA Farm Conference in Minneapolis on May 28 and 29, 1960.

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MORRIS CHILDS was asked to instruct the Wisconsin District to send more delegates to this Farm Conference than had been originally suggested although no one seemed to know how many delegates the Wisconsin District was asked to send to Minneapolis.

Selection of MORRIS CHILDS as the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the CPUSA

GUS HALL nominated MORRIS CHILDS as the Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the CPUSA. CHILDS was elected unanimously by the NEC. CHILDS is answerable to the NEC and is considered a part of the NEC although he was not elected to the NEC. The selection of CHILDS for this position will not be announced beyond the NEC. At the present time the Foreign Affairs Committee is a committee of one.

Restriction of Attendance at Meetings of the NEC

It was decided that hereafter attendance at meetings of the NEC will be restricted to members of the NEC except when a person is invited for a discussion of a particular topic. Once the discussion on this particular topic is concluded the invitee will be expected to leave the meeting.

The reason for this decision is that some of the guests have been voting on motions and have been raising issues which the NEC did not want to discuss.

Debate and Decisions in Regard to Enlarging the Secretariat, or Selecting a Resident NEC or a Polit Bureau

For about one hour the NEC debated whether to enlarge the Secretariat or select a resident NEC or a Polit Bureau. This issue of a resident NEC or a Polit Bureau came

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up since it was felt by some that the Secretariat is assuming too many political duties as well as administrative duties.

GUS HALL stated that from now on everyone will be entitled to a vacation of one month's duration. Since members of the Secretariat are travelling almost constantly and since some will be on vacation from time to time, there is a possibility that at times there would not be a quorum for a meeting of the Secretariat. HALL therefore proposed that CLARENCE LIGHTFOOT, GEORGE MEYERS and IRVING POTASH be added to the Secretariat. BEN DAVIS said that he would only vote for MEYERS. Others suggested that these three be considered alternate members of the Secretariat. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT said that he would serve as a member of the Secretariat but not as an alternate member.

GUS HALL then closed off the discussion by stating that a second look at these organizational proposals will be taken in July.

After all the debate and discussion it was decided to continue with the Secretariat as presently constituted as this Executive Session of the NEC adjourned.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: May 18, 1960

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner *PMB*SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Belmont _____
 Caginman _____
 DeLoach _____
 Malone _____
 McGuire _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

D. J. D.

Under date of May 2, 1960, Phil Bart, national organization secretary, Communist Party (CP) USA, addressed a letter to all CP districts and district organization secretaries proposing that the month of June, 1960, be devoted to "dues control." This proposal was made as a means of "tightening up the Party organization" and of attempting to reach all members, get them to pay their dues and to discuss with them Party work and their relationship to the Party club. It is suggested that the month of May be utilized to prepare for the June activity.

OBSERVATION

This will apparently be an effort by the Party to contact all current members and some former members to arouse their interests in Party work at the club level, to get their dues in a current status and to register as many members as possible. It is believed all continental field offices should be alerted to this letter and its possible significance. This may provide a means for the field to obtain up-to-date information relating to CP membership and to assist in identifying some of those CP members not presently identified.

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ACTION

EX 109

REC-69

100-3-69-7813

Attached for approval is a letter to all continental field offices (original on plastiplate) furnishing pertinent observations and instructions.

20 MAY 26 1960

Enclosure

100-3-69

1 - 100-3-68 (CP, USA, Membership)

1 - Mr. Parsons
1 - Mr. Belmont1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Duse

PWD:11c (6)

64 JUN 1 1960

100-3-69-7814
CHANGED TO
100-3-17-71283

MAY 7 1965

BC -087

C

OFFICE MEMORANDUM ***** UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: 5/20/60

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (100-33741)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
ORGANIZATION
IS-C

b6
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UTMOST CARE MUST BE USED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING
THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IN ORDER TO FULLY PROTECT THE
IDENTITY OF A HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT. IT IS SUGGESTED THAT
COMPLETE PARAPHRASING BE UTILIZED IN THE EVENT ANY OF THIS
INFORMATION IS INCORPORATED IN A REPORT SUITABLE FOR
DISSEMINATION, IN ORDER TO AFFORD MAXIMUM SECURITY TO THIS
INFORMANT.

CG 5824-S* on May 20, 1960, orally furnished to
SA [REDACTED] the information and comments concerning
a developing crisis in the New York District of the CP, USA,
and its effect on the National Office of the CP, USA. The
information and the comments are a result of conversations
with several members of the CP, USA in New York City during
the period between May 12, -18, 1960.

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3 - Bureau (RM)

1 - 100-3-104 (CP, USA, Counter Intelligence Program)

21. New York (RM)

1 - 100-87211 (CP, USA, Factionalism) (415)

1 - 100-80641 (CP, USA, Organization) (415)

1 - 100-128821 (CP, USA, New York District, Factionalism)

1 - 100-128314 (CP, USA, New York District, Funds)

1 - 100-128814 (CP, USA, New York District, Organization)

1 - 100- (CP, USA, New York District, Youth Matters)

1 - 100-140667 (Advance)

1 - 100-129629 (WILLIAM ALBERTSON)

1 - 100-93665 (MIMI FRIEDLANDER)

1 - 100-13483 (BETTY GANNETT)

1 - 100-9365 (WILLIAM Z. FOSTER)

1 - 100-84994 (GUS HALL)

1 - 100-5106 (CLARENCE HATHAWAY)

1 - 100-16021 (ARNOLD JOHNSON)

1 - 100-105078 (HYMAN LUMER)

1 - 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH)

1 - 100-118174 (MILT ROSEN)

1 - 100-34665 [REDACTED]

1 - 100-73561 (ABRAHAM UNGER)

1 - 100-50094 [REDACTED]

1 - 100-21431 [REDACTED]

2 - Chicago (RM) 100-33741
100-33741 [REDACTED]

JK:jem
(26)

100-3-69-7815

REC- 79 25 MAY 27 1960

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INVESTIGATOR

b7D

May 20, 1960

As a result of conversations with CLARENCE HATHAWAY, HY LUMER, LENA SCHERER, MARTIN YOUNG and others in New York City during the period between May 12 and 18, 1960, it appears that there is a crisis in the New York District of the Communist Party (CP), USA. This situation in the New York District has an effect on the National Office of the CP, USA.

The New York District did not circulate the document of the National Office dealing with factionalism beyond the top leadership in the District. It is stated that the Manhattan Section, the Industrial Section and the financial apparatus in other sections of the New York District are controlled by supporters of the Left wing point of view. ✓ As a result, some of the section organizers are holding back on the transmittal of dues payments to the National Office and funds to "The Worker".

GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA, has drafted an open letter to the Allerton Section of the New York District. The plan is to mimeograph this open letter and send it to all clubs in the CP, USA. HALL may also go into the New York District and appeal to the membership for unity and for support of the national leadership.

Consideration is also being given to the removal of several of the leaders in the New York District, including BETTY GANNETT, MIMI FRIEDLANDER, BILL ALBERTSON, ESTHER CANTER and possibly ARNOLD JOHNSON. If HALL cannot get agreement and unity in the New York District, he may knock heads together and remove people from positions of leadership regardless of whether they support a Left wing or a Right wing point of view.

It is stated that the 17th National Convention of the CP, USA, had no effect on the leadership of the Left grouping in the New York District. Also a discussion of factionalism and a discussion of the work of the enemy by the national leadership has had no effect on this Left grouping in the New York District. This Left grouping has now changed its line in regard to international relations as a result of

the breaking up of the Summit meeting. ABRAHAM UNGER, who is a part of this Left grouping, had been one of those shouting that the cold war is over. Now he is saying that the leadership of the CP, USA, is betraying the workers. Further, that war is around the corner so everyone must rally to the support of the Soviet Union. MAD TSE TUNG is correct and NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV was wrong about the possibility of peaceful co-existence with capitalism.

LENA SCHERER met with GUS HALL, CLARENCE HATHAWAY and IRVING POTASH and turned in to them a written statement about the industrial section of the New York District. She is now under attack from the industrial section and MILT ROSEN for using personal friendship to go over the head of the industrial section and to discuss matters pertaining to the Section with the National Office. Informal charges have been preferred against her.

There is some disappointment in regard to CLARENCE HATHAWAY. It is said that he has not been able to win the support of the Left group in the New York District.

The fight in the New York District has gone over to the youth. There are two youth centers in New York, One follows the National Office while Advance is being guided by ARNOLD JOHNSON. This is one reason why HYMAN LUMER does not want to be involved in youth work in the future.

There is also an undertone of dissatisfaction with GUS HALL. Among those expressing dissatisfaction were HY LUMER, MARTIN YOUNG and BETTY GANNETT. It is felt by some that HALL has a tendency to compromise and often placates the Left. Because of this, HALL has not been able to solve the crisis in the New York District up until the present time.

Some members of the Party think that LUMER should be relieved of some tasks in order to be closer to HALL. Others feel that LUMER should be assigned to do more work in the New York District since this would permit him to have it out with the New York District on the ideological front.

The Left grouping and WILLIAM Z. FOSTER have been using LUMER as a whipping boy. Some feel that LUMER is only an excuse to get at HALL and that this Left grouping will attack HALL one of these days. FOSTER is trying to set the line for HALL by writing letters to him at frequent intervals.

On Tuesday evening, May 17, 1960, there was a conference on "The Worker" in New York. This conference was attended by approximately 50 people including MARTIN YOUNG. YOUNG stated that most of those in attendance were people in their 70's. YOUNG commented that the Section leaders in the New York District do not want the fund and subscription drive for "The Worker" to succeed, so they do not send their best people to conferences of this type.

Thus it is believed that the fight in the CP, USA, is far from over. All sides are disturbed. The breaking up of the Summit meeting is not going to unite the Party. Some Party members think that KHRUSHCHEV might have behaved more diplomatically in Paris and are embarrassed by his performance. Yet the Left grouping is dissatisfied because the CP, USA, did not defend the Soviet Union more militantly. The members of the CP, USA, who want to go all out for the Soviet Union will use the "Open Letter to President Eisenhower" as an indictment against the leadership of the CP, USA, as compromisers.

The supporters of the Right wing point of view are using the breaking up of the Summit meeting to attack the position of the leadership that the CP, USA should run its own candidates in the 1960 elections. They will point out that it is necessary to see differences in the Democratic and Republican Parties and to rally support for certain Democrats such as STEVENSON and KENNEDY, as opposed to TRUMAN, JOHNSON and SYMINGTON. They will want to emphasize that the CP should stress work and efforts with the Democratic Party.

This developing split within the CP, USA should be watched with the view in mind of emphasizing or accelerating it.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

DATE: May 24, 1960

WPS
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (100-26044)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA DISTRICT ORGANIZATION,
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Re Los Angeles letter dated March 30, 1960, and
Bureau letter dated May 6, 1960.

Cases have been open and assigned on the five
individuals listed in Bureau letter dated May 6, 1960,
who are not yet on the Security Index at the Bureau.
Recommendations for inclusion of these persons on the
Security Index will be made to the Bureau in the individual
case.

Regarding the four individuals whose last names
are unknown, this is to advise that LIBBY in the Beverly -
Fairfax Section, has been identified as LIBA CORNGOLD, who
is now on the Security Index.

Concerning PAUL in the West Adams Club, this
person has been tentatively identified as PAUL PERLIN;
however, further verification of this is being secured.

Concerning one MORRIS in the Santa Monica Club,
and one MARVIN in the John Reed Club, further investigation
is being conducted in an effort to identify these individuals
following which recommendations concerning their Security Index
status will be furnished the Bureau in the individual case files.

2-Bureau (Registered)
1-Los Angeles

WNP:els
(3)

REC-73

100-3-69-7816

20 MAY 31 1960

371JUN 3 1960

INT/SEC
WPS

Optional Form No. 10

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69) ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 5/26/60
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)
SUBJECT: CP, USA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C

ReNYlet to Bureau, 5/11/60.

On 5/5/60, NY 1857-S*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that on that date BILL LAWRENCE met with BERNARD ADES at latter's office in NYC. (u)

ADES stated he had lunch with HY LUMER recently and it was a "frustrating experience" (u)

ADES said "He didn't agree with me on anything. APTHEKER and JACKSON were all right. I was so mad. I went in to see JACK STACHEL" (u)

LAWRENCE remarked, "No, the guy to see is HATHAWAY. You might as well see the head. HATHAWAY and GUS work like this." (u)

(2) - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
1 - New York (100-9365) (W.Z. FOSTER) (415) # 23951B
1 - New York (100-56579) (PHIL BART) (415)
1 - New York (100-16021) (ARNOLD JOHNSON) (414)
1 - New York (100-23825) (BEN DAVIS) (415)
1 - New York (100-18065) (JACK STACHEL) (415)
1 - New York (100-80532) (HERBERT APTHEKER) (414)
1 - New York (100-84994) (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - New York (100-5106) (CLARENCE HATHAWAY) (414)
1 - New York (100-105078) (HY LUMER) (415)
1 - New York (100-16785) (JAMES JACKSON) (415)
1 - New York (100-467) (BILL LAWRENCE) (414)
1 - New York (100-12481) (415)
1 - New York (100-128814) (NY STATE CP-ORGANIZATION) (414)
1 - New York (100-80641) (415)

Classified by [Signature]
Declassify on: OADR 3/3/60
23951B

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b7C

AJS:gak
(16)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

EX-107
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 16 MAY 31 1960

67 JUN 3 1960

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

ADES said, "These ideas I proposed are at this moment under serious discussion and not just to discuss, but to decide and do something. This was from JACK. HY doesn't look at anything with an open mind. He doesn't see any crisis. JACK says you have to be careful not to cause an uproar in the Party. You have to give people a choice whether to go into community work or stay in industrial for a while. You have to be flexible and pragmatical. You decide your objective and do it flexibly. JACK said you can have a Bronx Committee downtown, but not a Bronx County Committee...and the dues paying and all would be downtown. In general, he agreed with me. And PHIL BART was there, too...But JACK was interested in hearing why LUMER didn't agree and I told him. JACK said it would be a couple of months." ~~(u)~~ (u)

LAWRENCE commented, "See LUMER at the 16th supported FOSTER, then BEN and now he supports GUS." ~~(u)~~ (u)

ADES said, "I'm sure GUS would agree with me in this." ~~(u)~~ (u)

LAWRENCE said, "Philosophically he (LUMER) hasn't moved an inch. See HATHAWAY or GUS." ~~(u)~~ (u)

ADES stated, "JACK said they're working on it." ~~(u)~~ (u)

LAWRENCE then again suggested that ADES see HATHAWAY to tell him his proposition and to tell him he could get a group to come and work for the organization. LAWRENCE said he believed the organization has not outlived its usefulness, but if it is left to people like BEN DAVIS it would become useless and unless there is a change in policy "nothing will happen" ~~(u)~~ (u)

LAWRENCE remarked, "JACKSON doesn't know what you're talking about and APTHEKER was just playing ball with you. I can't believe he's for it." ~~(u)~~ (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

NY 100-80641

LAWRENCE added, "Let me ask you a question. HY is a member of the Secretariat. JACK is not, but he attends meetings. You meet with JACK and he says it's under serious consideration. HY gives no indication it's being considered." ~~(u)~~

ADES said, "Yes he did, but not in that form. He said the idea of not having an industrial section was being considered. So from his point of view he might agree to that, but he means there wouldn't be an industrial board and the industrial clubs would be working from the State." ~~(u)~~

LAWRENCE interrupted, "Yeah, but that's only one aspect of your idea." ~~(u)~~

ADES said "That's what he meant, but when I talked to JACK, what's being considered is entirely different. See, with LUMER he can't see any change or believe in anything new. He can't understand that trade unions can do it themselves, such as the 30 hour week. He said, 'What are you upset about? I agree in part.' I said, 'You didn't agree at all with the essence'... He can't grasp things. ARNOLD JOHNSON is like that, too." ~~(u)~~

LAWRENCE said, "Tuesday a week ago, they had national representatives in all the clubs. Last Tuesday, a week...HY went...Drop outs wanted to hear if any movement in the Party. After they heard HY they said nothing happened...He made a speech like 15 years ago, as if nothing happened in the past 5 years. BEN DAVIS, HY LUMER and ARNOLD JOHNSON, they will not move." ~~(u)~~

If the above information is to be used in reports disseminated outside the Bureau, it should be appropriately paraphrased to protect the identity of NY 1857-S* ~~(u)~~

~~(u)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

F B I

Date: 5/14/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) (415)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - ORGANIZATION
 IS - C
 CINAL
 (OO:NY)

G. D. Coakley
 J. H. Dunn
 W. P. Jackson
 T. W. Kruccens
 B. C. Radford
APR 30 1960

CARE MUST BE UTILIZED IN HANDLING AND REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION, SINCE THE VERY NATURE OF THIS INFORMATION TENDS TO IDENTIFY A HIGHLY PLACED AND SENSITIVE INFORMANT.

On 5/13/60, NY 2359-S* advised that the first day's session of the enlarged National Executive Committee (NEC) meeting of the CP, USA was held in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

Among those in attendance were:

JAMES ALLEN
 BENJAMIN DAVIS, JR.
 EUGENE DENNIS
 GUS HALL
 CLARENCE HATHAWAY
 DOROTHY HEALEY
 JAMES JACKSON
 ANTON KRCHMAREK
 CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
 HY LUMER
 IRVING POTASH
 JACK STACHEL
 JAMES WEST

REC-24

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b7C

3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
 1 - New York (100-80641) (415)

100-3-69

18 MAY 16 1960

RLP:ah/mmb
 (8)

EX-104

Approved: 69 Sent _____ M Per _____
 59 JUN 3 1960 Special Agent in Charge

FD-36 (Rev. 12-13-56)

CENTRAL OFFICE
SEARCH

NY 100-80641

This meeting commenced at 2:12 p.m. and after GUS HALL announced that a discussion would take place on the electoral problems of today, he appointed JAMES JACKSON to chair the meeting.

JACK STACHEL opened the meeting and stated that the objectives of the Election sub-Committee were to bring in proposals in relation to questions raised at the last meeting, (NC Meeting, Chicago) and to implement phases of policy that have not been previously spelled out. He said the Party's election policy is one that has been followed for years and, in general, is made up of 3 aspects:

1. Participate and help determine the outcome of the election on every level. Within this aspect, STACHEL indicated the following should be strived for: Participation in activities within various organizations; influence the election of candidates on all levels and to influence the actions of the elected officials after the elections.
2. Utilize the elections to promote a workers class party.
3. Utilize the elections to promote the Party's program to nominate candidates.

STACHEL stated that two new factors have entered the electoral picture: namely, the world tension centered around the spy-plane and KENNEDY's victory in West Virginia. He commented that the Republican Party had been damaged and the peace issue is more important now than ever before in the campaign.

STACHEL stated that, "it is not our job to speculate", but that it was his feeling that the Democratic candidate would either be KENNEDY or STEVENSON. He stated "our policy" remains the same as set out at the 17th National Convention and the recent NC Meeting in Chicago. STACHEL stated that the Party must single out areas where districts must concentrate and that

NY 100-80641

the National Office must help them concentrate in the primaries and in the campaign itself. STACHEL stated "we" have both a duty and the responsibility of bringing about a unity "of what we sometimes call a non-Party left!" We must search out these "stranded people" and bring them together so they can play a role in the following 3 point program:

1. Promotion of a labor party;
2. campaign on individual issues affecting the campaign;
3. support an agreed upon candidate.

STACHEL stated "we" should try to contact these people, find out their thinking and "keep our eyes and minds open." STACHEL stated, concerning the role of the Party, in its own name, that there is "no reason against" nominating a Presidential ticket. This would help in the struggle to establish the legality of the Party and "we" would be in a better position to apply our main line. He pointed out that the main danger in this is that the Party would get so involved in its own candidatesthat "they" would forget everything else, ~~involved~~. STACHEL stated that, in the Sub-Committee, comrade ARNOLD JOHNSON proposed that the Party nominate a ticket in one state in order to demonstrate the Anti Democratic election laws.

STACHEL made the following proposals:

1. In order to meet the objective of bringing forward the struggle for the legality of the Party "we" work out a federal election law which would make uniform the requirements so that every minority group could get on the ballot;

2. The Party adopt a platform and proceed immediately in those states where "we" have the capacity, to nominate candidates;

3. "We" set up a platform committee of 5 or 6 comrades to draft a platform, with the first draft being ready to send to the districts by the middle of June. The final draft should be prepared ^{for} publishing right after the Democratic and Republican conventions.

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4. That an election conference be held in as many states as possible and that a national election conference be held in September.

The Sub-Committee also discussed the setting up of a public electoral campaign committee, however, it was decided to leave this for discussion by the Secretariat.

BEN DAVIS stated that he felt STACHEL's report contained a sound approach, but left some questions unanswered.

DAVIS stated that the 3 point formula was not enough. It has to be applied to issues at the present stage of the election campaign.

DAVIS stated he does not consider religion an issue in the campaign inasmuch as this has been settled by Article 6 of the Constitution of the United States.

Concerning the Presidential Primaries, DAVIS stated he felt they had degenerated and cited as an example the West Virginia primary wherein both KENNEDY and HUMPHREY side-stepped the major issues.

Concerning the youth of the candidates, he said it is a factor and "we" must deal with it.

DAVIS said the "spy-plane incident is "far more sinister" than we have taken note of and this must be corrected.

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BEN DAVIS stated that the main issues the Party has to consider for the election campaign are:

1. Peace;
2. Implementation of the Constitution of the US;
3. Establishment of democratic government and democratic rights in the South;
4. The struggle against monopoly, poverty, unemployment, and the question of living standards;
5. The question of building the Party and the Press.

DAVIS stated that the way is open for the Party to appeal to the President of the US for Democratic rights and election rights of our Party, and also to the UN on the question of the denial of elementary rights to our Party. The precedent was set for this by HERTER when he intervened in Cuba and demanded that the CASTRO forces give equal rights to the anti-Communist forces in Cuba.

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that it is necessary that the Party develop independent political action and to consider the specific role the Party will play and tactics which the Party will use in the Presidential race.

With regard to the possibility of a Communist candidate for President and Vice President, JOHNSON stated that certain states such as Wisconsin, Michigan, Washington, and Illinois require special anti-Communist affidavits and that the Party must also consider the Communist Control Act of the US.

JOHNSON proposed that the Party hold a convention in July after the convention of the two major parties at

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which they adopt a platform, establish an election apparatus, and nominate Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates. He suggested that the Party then concentrate on one state for the purpose of testing its laws and exposing the character of the discrimination against the Party, and for the purpose of strengthening the Party and its electoral work. JOHNSON stated that the Party could demand equal radio and T.V. time and show the Communists are serious about advancing Presidential and Vice-Presidential candidates.

GENE DENNIS stated that there is an emergence of pro-peace forces in the Democratic Party and cited as examples, ADLAI STEVENSON, Governor MEYNER, G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, HUMPHREY, and KENNEDY and that there is a sharpening of the struggle between them and the TRUMAN, ACHESON, and SYMINGTON forces which had stressed the missle gap and the inadequacy of military preparation.

DENNIS suggested that the Party approach Democrats in various states and try to get a coalition of forces such as STEVENSON, KENNEDY, and MORSE to oppose the TRUMAN, ACHESON, JOHNSON forces. DENNIS stated that KENNEDY's position on peace did not differ too much from HUMPHREY's, but that KENNEDY's position on civil rights is not apparent as yet. He suggested that the Party "avoid the distortion" that KENNEDY is a fascist.

DENNIS proposed that the Party give greater attention to a number of Congressional races. He stated that there are about 20 pro-peace Congressmen whom the Party should support for re-election, specifically mentioning PROXMIRE of Wisconsin, JOHNSON of Colorado, and MEYER (PH) of Vermont.

DENNIS stated that the Party should give greater attention to the mobilization of the trade unions and

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stressed the importance of COPE (Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO).

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated with regard to the Negro movement that there would be no substantial breakthrough as to Negro candidates in 1960, but urged that a survey be conducted to see what is necessary for the election of Negro candidates as opposed to merely waging a protest campaign for a Negro candidate.

LIGHTFOOT stated that the Party leadership in Cleveland was responsible for the successful campaign of a Negro candidate who successfully defied COPE and the labor hierarchy in Cleveland.

DOROTHY HEADY stated that the role of Communists in Southern California must be to help provide a unified approach and a consolidating of alliances, and a relating of the grass roots movements to each other.

HEADY mentioned also that in two weeks she is to appear in a radio panel discussion on the religions issue in the Presidential campaign.

HEADY said there is an important opportunity for the left to influence certain conventions through women representation. She also called for a Party's draft platform to be circulated through the Party.

GUS HALL felt emphasis should be put on the fact that the Party's role should emphasize the role of mass movements and not candidates - "mass action can move candidates." He upheld SICHEL's remark that the peace issue would emerge as the chief issue. HALL felt, in speaking about candidates, the Party must examine their base and foundations and where they get their support. HALL felt there was a false idea going through the Party that the

NY 100-80641

leadership was against a national candidate and this should be "undone". He said that they should fight at every opportunity for "Communist candidates". ~~HALL~~ said that it should be explained that anyone signing their petitions would be subjected to persecution. The whole idea of persecution of the small independent political parties must be brought out.

JAMES JACKSON remarked that he was for a Communist Party national candidacy because he felt in this manner they could best put forward the peace issue and the Negro liberation movement. He said the events of the past month or so have been such that each of the major political candidates have had to take a public stand on these issues. He felt the Party could push for a united front for free elections and proposed a permanent committee be established to seek ways to change the law, both the national and local levels that governs the participation of minority political parties. This committee should have a long range goal of possibly 1962 or 1964, for bringing about such changes.

JACKSON felt the Party could detail a project in terms of public relations activity around a specific item. He suggested the Party put 2000 members to work ten hours a week for ten weeks visiting 200,00 people, taking with them a copy of "The Worker". He felt this could result in 20,000 new subscriptions. He thought that possibly by November, they could have a daily paper which could, through larger circulation, play an important role in the later elections. JACKSON minimized the importance of the religious issue in the campaign saying the Catholic Church hierarchy has "had its wings clipped" and is not an American Institution.

JAMES ALLEN said that the "recent events" have destroyed the peace image of EISENHOWER as well as of the Republican Party and NIXON. He felt the Party is in a

NY 100-80641

better position now than it was in 1958, to push for a United Front ticket in all local levels. He thought the Party was now in a better position to influence those of the left and more able to give sound political direction and leadership to them.

HY LUMER agreed with STACHEL's position on Party candidates and the need for developing campaigns on a state scale should be emphasized.

IRVING POTASH stated "we" must recognize the fact that the American masses will not take our Party seriously as a political party unless we put forth popular candidates. He said they have to fight against all obstacles which stand in the way of putting forth Party candidates. POTASH was of the opinion that a Party candidate for 1960 could not now be put forth mainly because they have neglected to "cultivate the ground for it." That, however, now is the time to start cultivating that ground by running local candidates.

NY 100-80641

HATHAWAY was in agreement with STACHEL's report and commented that the Party must recognize the difficulty in informing the membership of policy decisions. He indicated that individual club meetings were not sufficient, citing for example that NY has 125 clubs and there is not enough time to brief them all individually.

CARL WINTER stated that it is necessary to shift emphasis at various times during the course of developments. He indicated that the 2nd of the 3 aspects set forth in STACHEL's report as the most important because at present it is the main arena where the struggle is developing. He said that there is a big change taking place in the orientation of the labor movement and it is "coming from below". That they have to note this change, stimulate and guide it.

WINTER agreed with JACKSON's proposal regarding the utilization of "The Worker" stating "The Worker" has to become the major instrument through which we speak to our membership and our friends. WINTER stated that he would like to see the question of the rights of minority groups to the ballot removed from the discussion. That while he agreed with it in principle it was an abstract proposition and a diversion at this time.

WEST agreed with the proposal on utilization of "The Worker". He stated that in Illinois there is a problem in the fight against the non-Communist affidavit and that "we" need a test case to fight this affidavit. WEST was of the opinion that there were many facets to the role of the Party besides that of running a Party candidate.

JACK STACHEL then proposed they bring in a motion on JACKSON's proposal in regard to "The Worker" and on how to implement our election program.

At the 2nd day's session, LUMER is to report on Education and JACKSON on propaganda.

Bureau will be kept advised.

F B I

Date: 5/15/60

Transmit the following in PLAIN TEXT

(Type in plain text or code)

AIRTEL

RM

Via

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION
IS-C
CINAL
(OO: New York)

Remyairtel, 5/14/60.

CARE MUST BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

On 5/14/60, NY 2359-S* advised that the second days' session of the enlarged NEC, CPUSA, was held in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

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b7c

The following were among those in attendance:

WILLIAM ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
PHIL BART
MORRIS CHILDS
BEN DAVIS
BETTY GANNETT
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
GUS HALL
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ARNOLD JOHNSON
ANTON KRCHMAREKCLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HY LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
DANNY RUBIN
JACK STACHEL
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER
WILLIAM WEINSTOCK
HERB APTHEKER3 - Bureau (100-3-69) (RM)
1 - NY (100-80641) (415)

REC-24

7 MAY 16 1960

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Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

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GUS HALL invited all out-of-town comrades to arrange to either see WILLIAM Z. FOSTER or talk with him on the phone.

The first report was on Party Education by HY LUMER. LUMER said that what distinguishes the CP is the fact that it bases its actions on scientific theory, that theory being Marxism-Leninism. He pointed out various reasons for decline in education work in the past ten years, including revisionism and the rise of "MC CARTHYISM." He said that the situation has changed favorably with the successful fight against revisionism in the CP. With the stabilization of the Party there has come a concern for theory and a sporadic revival of Educational work throughout the Party. In this connection he cited as examples the restoration of the Marxist school - The Faculty of Social Science, and the revival of the organization of Party classes.

LUMER outlined the following:

1. Club Education

This has received too little attention. The National Education Department has provided material for the Clubs from time to time and the best reception has been the Discussion Guides. The clubs need more of this type of material. Club discussion has been unsatisfactory due to informant club meetings, untrained leadership and lack of attention on part of top leadership to club work.

2. Cadre Training

There have been some steps to implement this. Examples are nine day school in Detroit, part-time schools in Los Angeles, San Francisco and Seattle last summer. However, no full-grown cadre training program is in operation.

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3. Youth Education

There have been heartening developments in this field and it is an important area of work which should be developed on a national scale.

4. Literature

With reference to this subject, LUMER cited figures relative to output of publications of International Publishers and New Century illustrating drastic decline in production of both during the past several years.

5. Educational Apparatus

There are inadequacies in this field. Only two districts have had continuous Educational Directors, these being New York and Chicago. Most districts are operating without an educational apparatus. A favorable climate now exists for the functioning of the National Education Commission and WILLIAM WEINSTONE has been added to its staff.

LUMER stated the reason for continuing weaknesses was primarily tendency to brush aside Education work under pressure of other tasks. These difficulties were compounded by factional disruption within the Party. He then outlined the present situation and problems noting that the old comrades have had no formal recent training and the younger comrades have had none. He enumerated the following:

1. Entire cadre needs theoretical training and refreshing.
2. Lack of confidence in theory which manifested itself in lack of ideological militance in the Party.
3. There has developed, especially on the club level, a new core of leadership which is on the whole inexperienced and untrained.

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4. The Party inherited a lot of ideological weaknesses such as (a) lack of Marxist-Leninist methodology; (b) extensive growth of bourgeois nationalism, and (c) lack of understanding of the nature and role of the Party.

5. The Party has lost the habit of reading and self study.

6. New theoretical problems have developed.

At this point LUMER said that "what has emerged is the necessity of basing our theoretical analysis on the U. S. and our own problems." He then presented the following positive program:

1. Party Clubs

Manual and Guides should be issued for use of clubs and other publications should be used more effectively.

2. Classes and Schools

National campaign should be undertaken to organize Party classes in all Districts. Schools should be re-established in a number of major Districts and a program should be started to train teachers in the Districts. A school year in which a program of one year is worked out should be instituted.

3. Cadre Training

Organize in all Districts a series of part-time cadre training schools to be held on weekends and nights with material and assistance from the national education department. Undertake national cadre schools. Each district set up a program of singling out key cadre and assign them to district leaders for

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specialized training. Wider use should be made of "The World Marxist Review."

4. Youth Education

This requires special attention. Classes in this field at present time are mainly made up of non-Party students and should be extended along this line. A program should be worked out with the National Youth Director.

5. Party Affairs

This publication should be resumed as soon as an Editor and proper staff can be obtained.

According to LUMER, the National Education Commission proposes a six month period of study from June to December of this year on the question of the Marxist Movement today and its perspectives. It also purposed a series of articles in "Political Affairs" on the subject of Education.

LUMER noted that the National Office is starting a series of seminars, the first of which is to be next Friday (5/20/60). He said he would lead it and the topic will be "State monopoly capitalism." He suggested each District do this for their leadership.

LUMER proposed that he be relieved of Youth and Jewish work so that he may devote his time to organizing and giving direction to Education work. He recommended that all cadre training be assigned to WILL (WEINSTONE).

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Following LUMER'S report, there was a discussion period wherein all individuals were in agreement with the above report. BART pointed out the average age of the club chairmen is 20 years in the Party and, therefore, the problem the Party has is that there must be a "rapid training" of that leadership because it is the link to the clubs. BART stated the idea of direction and training of clubs is most welcome and essential and that the training of the "whole middle cadre" was necessary.

DANNY RUBIN spoke about the steps taken regarding education by the youth in Philadelphia. He stated "we" can start an educational program on a basic theoretical level; however, the problem is that "too often we leave it there" and "we" don't get down to how people are living, it is therefore too abstract.

RUBIN in mentioning methods used in Philadelphia, stated that examinations and individual interviews were applied whereby basic questions on Socialism were asked. He also stated that as District Educational Director for the last four years (in Philadelphia) he only used the lecture method once.

JACK STACHEL stated that every Party leader on every level must be a participant in this educational program.

GUS HALL stressed the importance of cadre development; study among the leadership itself. HALL cited a youth club in Philadelphia whose members are between the ages of 18-23 and adeptly schooled in Marxism-Leninism. These individuals are future club chairmen and District Organizers and the distinction lies in education. They talk like Marxist leaders and have an understanding of mass work.

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BETTY GANNETT stated the Party has to utilize the printed word and examine how "Political Affairs" can become a major instrument regarding education.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE pointed out that the struggle for principle is a major task. Also "we" have to establish a "school year" rather than short-term educational programs because you can't teach Marxism-Leninism in nine days. "We" have to develop a systematic program of step by step education and also improve the quality of published material.

GEORGE MEYERS stated re education that there has been a break through as far as young people are concerned, particularly in Colleges where students want to know what Socialism is. He stated that "we" have to gear our educational program to those comrades who feel the need of education and look upon it as an instrument of struggle and as a weapon.

MEYERS said "we want our comrades to feel that they understand Marxism and can give leadership on it."

ARNOLD JOHNSON stated that he felt that out of respect for the Parties of other lands "we should understand what is happening in these countries." He said that education is a requirement for this. He indicated that the requirements he considered necessary to approach the problem of education are:

1. a degree of modesty
2. a lot of hard work
3. lack of an attitude of arrogance or conceit
4. a constant re-examination of fundamentals with the realization that some things must remain constant, such as "The well streams of our theory."

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JOHNSON continued that he felt one approach to the problem of education was a subjective internal approach of examining ideas. He said that the Party must take note of the fact that there is sharp increase among the masses, "outside of our ranks" who are reading Marxist literature. He said that "this gives us a responsibility inasmuch as we must be able to handle their questions." Material must be presented in such a way that everyone (Comrades) will feel the necessity of getting "hold of it" in order to meet day by day problems.

HERBERT APTHEKER agreed with LUMER'S report. He said that the comrades think and talk one way at club meetings, etc. but do not carry this thinking outside of the Party. He added that one thing that would help would be for educational work to reflect more fully what people want to know, and what they are discussing and reading. He cited as an example the fact that courses held in the school on "current problems" were the best attended. He indicated a need for a cadre to be able to discuss problems with intellectuals on their own level. He commented that they (intellectuals) are seeking us out.

JIM WEST said he thought the report was good and the proposals made would help overcome shortcomings (in educational work). He said "we must emphasize the training of young people in the development of cadres." WEST emphasized that the Party has not placed research "on a level required of a Communist Party." WEST pointed out that at the present time there was no collective use of research in the Party and he felt there should be a central research unit to collect and disseminate material dealing with the exploitation of the working class.

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LOUIS WEINSTOCK said, in regard to Educational work, that he felt there was a need to organize a seminar to study basic problems and discuss changes that have taken place in the last 15-20 years. He felt that an ideological struggle must be carried on to convince Party people of the need of education.

DOROTHY HEALEY said that what is needed is an analysis of historic methods of Marxist education, pointing out that many leading Marxists have left the Party. She said that in regard to cultural questions, "we do not regard it" as an important and decisive means of communication and this should be corrected.

IRVING POTASH stated that he agreed with LUMER'S report as far as it went. He noted there is an absence of teaching relationship between theory and tactics and said there is a necessity to stress how to think "when we approach a problem." He continued "we have removed the dialectical method from our everyday thinking."

MORRIS CHILDS commented that a greater number of people are showing interest in the Party. He said the question now is "how do we have a forum to train the people and how do we educate this forum." There is not enough cadre in the Education field. The national leadership has a definite responsibility to select people for such a cadre. The Districts also have a similar task.

JAMES JACKSON then gave the report on agitation and propaganda. He said the Party is now ready to shift its emphasis to practical activities. Concentration should be on urban industrial workers. If the CP enlightens advanced

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workers then they in turn can be the teachers of the slower groups and these ideas will then flow in more scattered channels. The masses must be educated so that they will have realization of the tasks themselves. The primary emphasis should be the thesis of "the broad front". Agitation material must be spicy and whet the appetite for propaganda. Agitation must have an immediate relationship to the every day life of the masses.

In preparation of material, the nature of class interest of the audience must be determined and the material "angled" to that audience. All media, including TV, radio and film strips, should be used in agitational and propaganda work. Districts and the "center" should be canvassed for the purpose of setting up a competent committee of specialists in this field.

ANTON KRCHMAREK said the key to educational work is to create a desire in the comrades for a Marxist education.

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG stated that these are books available in all fields of work and that the Party has to be conscious of this fact. He pointed out that the Party is a poor Party and the cost of publishing a book today is six times as much as it used to be.

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS stated that ideology is the most decisive question before the Party at this time and that criticism and self-criticism will flow much more when the Party becomes united ideologically.

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JACK STACHEL agreed with the reports given and emphasized the role of the "Worker" relationship to the proletariat.

CARL WINTER stated that "we" have "The Worker" for agitation, "P.A." for propaganda and we must utilize both as instruments in our work. He stated agitation is not simply being critical and that the essence is to criticize in such a way as to mobilize for action. WINTER pointed out that the Party has to realize that there are diverse qualities in everyone and should use them collectively. Also that we have to elevate to the highest level the best talent in the particular field.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that cadre training was the first and foremost job of every political leader, and that "Political Affairs" should reflect and analyze every struggle the Party goes through.

BETTY GANNETT said that agitational material has to be of immediate character and on single issues. She said "we" have a very serious responsibility on the national and state level to handle agitational material with dignity and an appreciation of the struggle needed to get it out. She felt that the Party needs some popular material that the club can use so that it can give the position of the Party on various issues.

HERB APTHEKER stated:

1. In agitation work the important point is to try and turn a key in the mind of the reader that something is deeply wrong and try to expose a lie.

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2. In addition to slogans and epigrams, APTHEKER would add images.

3. Agitational material has to be infused with fight and passion.

4. To Democracy and Socialism he would add patriotism.

APTHEKER remarked that "we" believe that "we" are among the saviors of our country. He said that those who rule our country are "weakening and murdering it."

LOUIS WEINSTOCK remarked that there would not be a "Daily Worker" unless every single Party member is convinced that this is an "A Number One" responsibility at the present time. He said that if the Party wants a daily paper by next January, it will be necessary to begin to work for it by June 1st and to have at least \$100,000 ready before the Party begins to talk of changing to a daily paper.

GUS HALL said that concerning "our" literature in so far as content, style, and make-up, one would have to conclude that the comrade who put it out have no intention of influencing anyone or anything with very few exceptions. He said the Party has no way of checking the effect of the material that is put out and that a system of checking the influence of the material must be worked out. He suggested the possibility of setting up a watch-dog committee who would, after reading "Political Affairs" and "The Worker" send in their criticisms concerning same.

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IRVING POTASH said "our" education must/be directed primarily either to the most backward or the most advanced people, but it must be directed to the mass, the majority in between. He said a method must be developed to find out the real thinking of such a sector of the people.

WILL WEINSTONE stressed the importance of agitation work, pointing out that it is the Party's task to stir up the masses. He said there is a weakness in the field of Party propaganda and that the Party is not striving to make the working class, class conscious. He said the Party should call upon the working man to "raise his sights" and introduce his own independent policy. Concerning the distribution and sale of literature, WEINSTONE said that among people say they cannot distribute it because they will be exposed. He stated that "we" as leaders must do more ourselves.

JAMES JACKSON pointed out the need of modernizing the agitational material and producing it with greater quality and quantity. He said "we" have to insist on "our" presence on the TV screens in this country. JACKSON agreed that the paper ("The Worker") is the Party's number one vehicle for agitation and said that in their paper there is the opportunity for many agitational pieces in one issue.

He said that in recent issues there have been editorials that would lend themselves to re-production and the Party should look at material in "The Worker" in order to put out this material in leaflet form. JACKSON remarked that he agreed with the point made by HERB (APTHEKER) concerning patriotism.

HY LUMER recommended that a survey be made throughout the membership to determine the reaction to "Political Affairs"

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in order that a report can be prepared by the Editorial Board for presentation to the Secretariat. He said the work in educational and propaganda fields should be "departmentalized" and specific responsibility assigned.

A motion was made that the reports on education and propaganda be accepted. The informant was unable to determine the vote, but there appeared to be no objection.

MORRIS CHILDS next reported on Cuba. In his opening remarks he said the report is based on the collective opinion of the Cuban Party. The fact that they expect aggression is forcing them to speed up their economic and political plans in order to safe guard their revolution. They say "friends in Europe" think the United States will not attack Cuba at this time. However, "they" feel differently. They feel there are two trends in Washington at this time, one being to attack Cuba now and the other to choke the revolution by economic means, diplomatic means, and a "fifth column."

CHILDS stated that this means that while there are differences in Washington on methods of timing both groups want to destroy Cuba. The Party in Cuba is growing, but they do not stress this. You cannot discuss numbers with them. The Cuban people are determined to prove to the American people they can never subdue Cuba.

He said there are many ways to support Cuba. In Chicago a group of ministers held a meeting and decided to send a delegation (to Cuba in the near future). The "National Guardian" has a tour. "We should speed these things up," and organize them while there is time. He said the

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trade union forces should be shown what the US imperialists are doing. There should be some support from the trade union forces here. "We" need proposals as to how "we" can bring this dangerous situation to the attention of the people, the trade unions and mass organizations.

Session adjourned to reconvene 10:00 AM, Sunday,
5/15/60.

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Date: 5/16/60

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Via

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TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM : SAC, NY (100-80641)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-ORGANIZATION

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CINAL

(OO: New York)

RE: 5/15/60

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Remyairtel, 5/15/60.

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CARE MUST BE USED IN REPORTING THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION SINCE ITS VERY NATURE TENDS TO IDENTIFY A SENSITIVE AND HIGHLY PLACED INFORMANT.

On 5/15/60, NY 2359-S* advised that the third days' session of the enlarged NEC, CPUSA, was held in CP Headquarters, NYC, on that date.

The following were among those in attendance:

JAMES ALLEN
HERB APTHEKER
PHIL BART
MORRIS CHILDS
BEN DAVIS
EUGENE DENNIS
BETTY GANNETT

CLARENCE HATHAWAY
GUS HALL
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ARNOLD JOHNSON
ANTON KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
HY LUMER

GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
DANNY RUBIN
JACK STACHEL
LOUISWEINSTOCK
WILLIAM WEINSTONE
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

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20 MAY 17 1960

cc - WICK
cc - BEE
cc - FEE
6/13/60

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GUS HALL then opened nominations for chairman and CARL WINTER was nominated and accepted. HALL stated on the agenda for today we have discussion and a couple of information reports. HALL stated that in the last 30 days since NEC meeting many new developments have occurred among them the "plane incident" on which some time should be spent. HALL stated that the EISENHOWER administration has been forced to take peace steps, but below the surface the "war forces" hold sway and that DULLES' policy of "double dealing, fraud, and conceit" continues. HALL Stated the seriousness of the situation can be measured by the confusion and desperation, and that a crisis exists in government and leadership. HALL emphasized that the recent spy plane incident must be considered within the context of the general background of the American sphere of influence referring specifically to situations in South Korea, South Africa, Turkey, Cuba, Japan, Viet-Nam, as well as the domestic peace movements.

HALL stated this incident (spy plane) created "the most massive self-exposure that has taken place in history" which has lead to an impossible situation because no open defense has been received from any quarter. He said there are two main reactions, the danger of accidental atomic war and the US Government has been caught in so many lies, that the veracity of the US is in doubt. The World Peace forces have never had such a clear cut issue.

HALL asked, has this created a new situation which would necessitate a new basic analysis of the general situation. He indicated at this time it did not, but there is a need for much more discussion. HALL stated that the US ideology and economic situation was based upon "cold war tensions" and that this explains the apparent dilemma and contradiction of the US at the present time.

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HALL posed the following questions:

1. Is co-existence wishful thinking?

No. It can be achieved and the Soviet Union
has moral standing.

The Soviet Union is fighting for peace.

2. Is peace the central issue?

Yes. War is no more inevitable than it was.

3. Is there any apparent difference between the
Soviet CP and the Chinese CP?HALL said such so called differences should
be considered in the light of their different
problem and "we" should not invent any differences.
He said the Chinese problem is difficult to
understand.HALL said that the central conclusion to be drawn
is around the whole struggle for peace. The Summit Meeting
will dramatize West Berlin and Germany and some very
serious situations can develop from it.JAMES JACKSON (utilizing the security of the
blackboard) stated that the Party must help prepare the
American public to accept peaceful co-existence and stated
that the Party must be prepared for a substantial counter-
thrust on the part of reactionary forces with regard to
Cuba. He pointed out that intervention in Cuba could set
off reactions in China, Formosa, South Korea, and Japan.HERBERT APTHEKER stated that the Party must point out
that the US Government is instituting McCarthyism in that the
CIA and the National Security Council are becoming the
dominant force with regard to American foreign policy. He
stated that these agencies operate without Congressional
control and in secrecy.

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APTHEKER listed the following points:

1. That he felt GUS HALL'S charge of double-dealing and arrogance should be directed against the US Government rather than at the people of the US because the people of the US are shocked at policies followed by the government.
2. That the Party must point out that the US Government has become committed to the use of atomic weapons by its armed forces.
3. The moral degradation of the US in being allied with FRANCO and CHANG Kai Shek must be pointed out.
4. The racism, arrogance, and rottenness of the ruling class in the US must be pointed out.
5. Point out the growing idea of preventative war in military circles.
6. The Party must intensify its struggle against CIA and other such forces.

JACK STACHEL stated that the Soviet Union has pointed out that cold war is not a preventative war but a step in the direction of war. STACHEL said that the Party must take up an extensive struggle to show what the cold war is and what co-existence is and that co-existence does not mean merely preserving the status quo.

JIM ALLEN stated that the Party must center attention upon the fact that the dominant trade union leadership is allied with the cold war forces. He urged an evaluation of all the forces and currents within the labor movement. ALLEN commented that it is unfortunate that other aspects of the mass movement such as the student movement, and the peace movement are advancing ahead of the trade union movement.

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CLARENCE HATHAWAY stated that KHRUSHCHEV can be counted upon to adhere to a policy to promote peace, co-existence, and progress in the settlement of Berlin but that KHRUSHCHEV will do nothing to contribute to the precipitation of war. He stated that all the developments in the "plane incident" are examples of the way KHRUSHCHEV takes advantage of contradictions which exist in the bourgeois world and uses those contradictions to further peaceful co-existence.

HATHAWAY stated that there is a "division of labor" among the Communist forces in the world and that each Communist force must fulfill its responsibility in accordance with the situation which exists in its part of the world. To illustrate this "division of labor" HATHAWAY cited the examples of KHRUSHCHEV "in the most powerful socialist state," taking advantage of favorable aspects of the present period; the situation in the Far East gives the Chinese Party the responsibility of exposing the role of the imperialist powers in the Pacific area. HATHAWAY pointed out that GUS HALL has hit upon the things which "we" must do to strengthen the peace movement.

HATHAWAY stated that this Summit meeting will not settle everything but that others will follow and that "KHRUSHCHEV will wrest concessions from them." He said that the issue of Berlin must be presented in all agitation and speeches as an obstacle to the achievement of peace and co-existence.

IRVING POTASH discussed the AFL-CIO foreign policy conference. He said that this conference brought to the surface MEANY'S cold war policies and expressed the boldest attempt by the cold war forces to use the trade union movement to bolster their position in the US and internationally.

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POTASH referred to MURRAY KEMPTON'S column (in the NY Post) in which KEMPTON asked whether one state department isn't enough. (implying that the AFL-CIO leaders are trying to usurp the function of the State Department). POTASH stated that the Soviet Union might come to the UN and say that the American trade union movement is under the thumb of the government and in particular CIA.

POTASH stated that although no voice was raised at the conference in opposition to MEANY, undercurrents of opposition to MEANY do exist in the AFL-CIO and that such opposition has been demonstrated in the form of statements by such leaders as HARTNETT, CURRAN, REUTHER, EMIL MAZEY, and by the fact that there were many absentees from the conference.

POTASH stated that MEANY found it necessary to call this conference because of a need to counteract the effect of the peaceful co-existence position of the entire labor movement outside the US and because MEANY fears the influence of progressive forces in the trade union movement.

POTASH stated that the Party must encourage progressive forces in the trade union movement to participate in the opposition to MEANY'S cold war policy and to help develop the skill and initiative of the rank and file in formulating resolutions, organizing round robins, distributing leaflets and flyers, encouraging comrades to take the floor at meetings, and supporting the positions of such leaders as MAZEY, CURRAN and in certain instances REUTHER and CAREY.

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POTASH proposed that the Party aim its fire at such enemies of labor as ADENAUER and in the unions such enemies as DUBINSKY and LOVESTONE. POTASH said the Party must take advantage of the fact that the leaders "do not love DUBINSKY," and that LOVESTONE IS a mystery in the unions which the Party should clear up.

CARL WINTER, as chairman, at this point reported he had received a note from JACK (STACHEL) which, according to WINTER, expressed the sentiments of the committee but that it would be well to make "consensus" on it. WINTER (apparently referring to note) stated that several speakers have stated they thought HALL spoke of our country as a country of hypocrites and double dealers but that what he did say was that these actions by our government have created a reaction abroad that we are a nation of double dealers. WINTER asked if everyone agreed to this and at the same time stated that if anyone objected he may speak.

LIGHTFOOT said he had told newspaper reporters that we are rapidly becoming a nation of hypocrites, particularly concerning the Negro question. He added that the American people must assume the responsibility for tolerating this type of government.

At this point a brief recess of seven minutes took place.

GEORGE MEYERS stated that at a meeting he had, following the plane incident, he had discussions that brought out the point that if a Soviet plane had been shot down over the US we would be at war. He also expressed fear of secrecy in government as presenting possibility of unknown people controlling life or death through an atomic war. He concluded by expressing opinion that as far as preventing war the reaction of the American people will have more influence than anything else.

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- 7 -Approved: _____ Sent: _____ M Per: _____
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BETTY GANNETT stated that the Party must point out the tough fight for peaceful co-existence and expressed worry that there may be a shift in the direction that there is no possibility for peaceful co-existence. On the question of secrecy, GANNETT reported that we got to resurrect actions which took place in the recent past to show the lies that were perpetrated on the American people by the American Government. She felt that the Party has a more serious job of exposing monopoly capitalism and its machinations.

ARNOLD JOHNSON suggested that a two-day session on Peace be held in order to determine how to establish peace movement; discussion on danger spots to world peace; examination of war literature; estimation of Party's influences; role of military in government. JOHNSON felt that the timing of the Party's activities in this field is acute due to the tremendous change in the thinking of the American people.

Lunch break from 12:50 to 1:25.

MORRIS CHILDS stated there is a need for discussions but we must go beyond that and deal with the concrete possibilities of establishing a broad front struggle for peace.

WILL WEINSTONE quoted LENIN as saying in 1922 that governments prepare war secretly behind people's backs. He urged the Party to issue slogans relative to the 1960 elections that the country needs "honest" leaders. He felt that the Party should crystalize the labor movement against the cold war. He also felt that the Party should give greater attention to SANE (committee for Sane Nuclear Policy). In relation to demonstrations in San Francisco, against the HCUA hearings, WEINSTONE recommended:

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1. That "The Worker" play it big,
2. That the SF district produce folder and distribute it nationally and if necessary the national office should provide the necessary funds .

LIGHTFOOT regarded the general line of GUS (HALL) report as good and said that EISENHOWER'S position has suddenly changed and that KHRUSHCHEV'S position that EISENHOWER is a "peace man" but surrounded by war forces "we" can no longer agree with.

He said that the handling of the spy-plane incident by the Soviet forces has broadened the whole struggle for peace. It has brought in new forces for peace who previously believed that EISENHOWER was following a policy of peace.

This gives the peace movement an offensive and places the whole American Government on the defensive.

We have to find ways to show that the Party has been right all along about American Imperialism. LIGHTFOOT agreed that the Peace question is the most important question.

DENNIS said let us not keep referring to the latest elements such as the spy plane incident. One has to make reference to the obvious "it was a hostile military act." It's objective was to torpedo the Summit Conference. DENNIS stated that the prospects of this Summit Conference today is much better than two or three weeks ago.

He said the issue of peace and the struggle for peaceful co-existence is the overriding issue of our time.

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JAMES JACKSON proposed that the Party use the election campaign to increase the circulation of "The Worker"JACK STACHEL made a motion that JACKSON'S proposal be adopted and that the "Org. Bureau" and the election campaign committee be instructed to work out details to make it effective throughout the country.DOROTHY HEALEY suggested that the Party address itself to the question of "reapportionment," (of Congressional Districts) the rights of minorities, and the representation of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. With regard to the role of the Party in California, HEALEY stated that the Party is going to "take advantage of the mass media" by becoming involved in issues which will be before the voters such as taxes and the water issue. In California the Party is proposing to set up a formal, legal Communist Committee in support of or opposed to issues, which will be considered by the voters.CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that he supported JAMES JACKSON'S motion that "The Worker" be the principal medium through which the Party participate in the election campaign.BEN DAVIS stated he felt the matter of whether to have a national election campaign committee should be decided by "this body" (the NEC) rather than the Secretariat, and that GUS (HALL) should head the national election campaign committee.ARNOLD JOHNSON said he felt the Party should attempt to elect ten Congressional candidates and suggested the following possibilities:Two candidates for Congress from NY; one or two from California; one or two from Illinois; one from Michigan; one from Ohio; one from Pennsylvania; one from the state of Washington; possibly one from New Jersey; possibly one from Massachusetts or possibly one from Minnesota, Indiana, or Wisconsin.Approved: _____ - 10 - M Per _____
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GEORGE MEYERS stated that there is wide-spread gerrymandering in Baltimore against both minority groups and working-class people, and that the Party must make this matter a part of its approach. MEYERS stated that in Washington, D.C., Negroes are denied the vote because the people of Washington know that a Negro would be elected Mayor or the Negro people would decide who is elected Mayor. MEYERS described this as a blatant situation and said, "We ought to go to town on that and never let it drop."

With regard to the Presidential campaign MEYERS said he feels that the situation in the Democratic and Republican parties is still fluid and that the nominations are not necessarily going to jell around any two candidates and that the Party should not yet take sides.

JIM WEST stated that in Illinois they had decided they should try to find a candidate to make a challenge on the question of a non-Communist affidavit.

JACK STACHEL suggested setting up a platform committee of about five comrades to get the platform out by June 15. STACHEL suggested the following comrades for the Committee: From New York, BEN DAVIS, HATHAWAY and ARNOLD JOHNSON. With regard to the National Election Campaign committee, STACHEL suggested that it be composed of the Secretariat plus an allotted number from each district.

WILLIAM WEINSTONE stated that....it will not be possible to put up in all places a Congressional candidate

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in the name of the Party because of insufficient strength or because legal conditions make it difficult. He suggested that the question of left coalition candidates and Party candidates be combined.

~~X~~ DANNY RUBIN stated that a new youth publication, "New Horizons" has been launched which will give a Marxist analysis of the youth movement and a socialist, Marxist-Leninist outlook but which will not be labeled as a Marxist publication. It will use the technique of controversy and example rather than lecturing and will consider not only political questions facing youth but also other questions of interest to youth.

RUBIN stated that this publication is considered a key factor in building a national youth organization and that a budget of \$7000 is necessary to guarantee its success. From June 1, to the middle of September, an attempt will be made to raise \$5000 in fund drives and \$2000 in subscriptions of one dollar each. RUBIN stated that young people have found it possible to get subscriptions for this publication from adults who would not contribute to other fields of the left, and that the publication will have a good list of adult sponsors. RUBIN commented that he felt this publication will be effective in closing the gap between "democratic youth" and the youth of the left.

IRVING POTASH stated that preventing the government from transferring HENRY WINSTON to a prison hospital was a notable victory, but that there has been a relaxing in the Party of the campaign for clemency and that this campaign must be intensified.

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POTASH stated that WINSTON has opposed legal action to obtain release for him because he is afraid such a campaign would be a substitute for mass action, but that an effort is being made to convince WINSTON that legal action should be taken.

POTASH said that WILLIAM PATTERSON did a good job abroad in the campaign for WINSTON and he hopes that E.G. FLYNN will continue the campaign. POTASH stated that Reverend KING (MARTIN LUTHER) has sent a letter on behalf of WINSTON and that KING will be asked whether this letter can be made public.

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT stated that the WINSTON campaign should gather such momentum that it will become a household word. LIGHTFOOT said that GIL GREEN has decided not to file for parole in September because he is "so selfless" he does not want to divert from the campaign for WINSTON, but that efforts are being made to persuade GREEN to file for parole.

CARL WINTER suggested that the Party should follow up its achievements by advising its supporters what has happened specifically mentioning the WINSTON case.

GUS HALL next mentioned the coming National Farm Conference, saying that SAM DAVIS was doing a good job, but HALL was of the opinion that it would be valuable if a representative from the West Coast and the South could attend.

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GUS HALL then said that Comrade MORRIS (CHILDS) has been doing a very important job and has been able to make a real contribution in a specific field. He said that generally his work has been of a very high caliber and, therefore, "the Secretariat suggests that we elect Comrade MORRIS as the Foreign Affairs Secretary of the Party That he will be responsible to this Party and to this body and this body only (NEC)." |||

HALL next stated that the feeling with regard to the Secretariat is to increase it to 8 in number, which would include CLAUDE (LIGHTFOOT), IRVING (POTASH) and GEORGE (MEYERS) from Baltimore. This would strengthen the Secretariat.

BEN DAVIS commented that he was not in favor of enlarging the Secretariat. DAVIS also commented that this body (NEC) is too large, saying that in order to discharge responsibilities, it would be better to have smaller groups. He said the nature of the Secretariat is that it ought to be a small body and "I" do not encourage a tendency to increase it.

JAMES G JACKSON suggested a system of designating "alternates" to insure a quorum in the absence of other comrades. This will still retain the principle of a numerically small Secretariat.

LIGHTFOOT was not in favor of "alternates" and said he wouldn't serve as such.

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LUMER expressed favor of enlarging the Secretariat, but was not in favor of "alternates."

BEN DAVIS spoke again and indicated he would favor the addition of GEORGE (MEYERS) on Secretariat and leave off the other two (POTASH and LIGHTFOOT).

GEORGE (MEYERS) commented that due to the nature of his work, he would not always be available to attend meetings and it must be understood that would be a way in which he would function.

HATHAWAY was in favor of enlarging the Secretariat, but limiting the participation of invited guests.

Following further discussion, LIGHTFOOT proposed the possibility of "going back to the old form of Party organization," of having a Secretariat of 4 and a resident board (or resident NEC). No decision made.

HALL moved for adjournment with discussion to continue at the next meeting of NEC.

Meeting adjourned 5:16 p.m.

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REASON - FCIM 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
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~~CG 5824-S*~~ orally furnished the information on
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This information was reduced to writing on ~~CM(u)~~ 16 and 17, 1960. ~~(S)~~ 4

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b7C

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5/15/60

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Time, Type and Place of Meeting

On Sunday, May 15, 1960, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of the Communist Party, USA, met in Communist Party headquarters, 23 West 26th Street, New York City. This was the third day of a three-day meeting.

Persons in Attendance

The following members of the NEC were in attendance:

PHIL BART
BENJAMIN DAVIS
EUGENE DENNIS
GUS HALL
CLARENCE HATHAWAY
DOROTHY HEALEY
JAMES JACKSON
ANTHONY KRCHMAREK
CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT
KYMAN LUMER
GEORGE MEYERS
IRVING POTASH
JACK STACHEL
JAMES WEST
CARL WINTER

(u)

The following guests were in attendance:

BILL ALBERTSON
JAMES ALLEN
HERBERT APTHEKER
MORRIS CHILDS
BETTY GANNETT
ARNOLD JOHNSON
DANNY RUBIN
ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG
LOUIS WEINSTOCK
WILLIAM WEINSTONE

(u)

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WEINSTOCK was present for the morning session. DENNIS was present for two or three hours. CARL WINTER was the Chairman on May 15, 1960. (e)4

Report on the International Situation and the Struggle for Peace

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GUS HALL made a report which he called the international situation and the struggle for peace. JACK SHULMAN taped HALL's speech and then left the meeting with the tape. It is assumed that SHULMAN will make the recording available to WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. (e)4

HALL stated, the shooting down of the U-2, or the spy-plane incident, brought many developments to the surface and triggered other events. It sharpened certain differences in the Eisenhower administration. The Eisenhower administration and United States imperialism had been sort of compelled to be for peace. However, the pro-war forces are still very powerful. In actuality, the United States Government did a contrary thing. It professed to work for peace and prepared to worsen the international situation. Therefore, we can say that the old John Foster Dulles policy still continues, although the general direction toward an understanding with the Soviet Union is still the same. (e)4

The present situation has exposed the double dealing, fraud and deceit of the United States Government. The shooting down of this plane over the Soviet Union also showed the possibility of accidental atomic war. We need no details on the plane incident. We know that this is only one of a series of events that shook the United States. There were many quakes in the world during the last thirty days. All of these were felt in the United States. The seriousness of this U-2 incident can be measured only by the desperation of the United States Government. We might even say that it is a temporary government crisis and also a crisis of leadership. (e)4

This government of ours is not as stable as it is cracked up to be. Even if only in a miniature way, this present international situation showed how a real United States Government (e)4

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crisis can develop. Temporarily, the ship of state is in confusion and in bewilderment. Each department of the government is contradicting the other. We should see the spy-plane incident in the proper background. There have been thirty days of upheaval that shook the United States and its influence. The South Korean crisis is not yet over. The South African crisis is still developing. The dream that went with two hundred years of exploitation of Africa has exploded. The crisis in Africa is not yet over and it is affecting the United States. (e)4

The crisis in Turkey also is not over yet. That crisis has weakened United States influence. It is important to remember that the last meeting of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization took place under martial law. (e)4

The Cuban crisis continues and its influence is being felt all over the Americas. The Cuban situation affects the ability of the United States to move or not to move. Japan continues in ferment. The ratification of the security treaty between the United States and Japan is not yet assured. It is not in the bag yet, especially since the U-2 incident. There are developments in South Viet Nam, which is a sphere of influence of the United States. The exploding situation there is beginning to take on fighting forms. (e)4

The deep-going events in many countries of the world reach the United States. In the United States also, there are movements and developments. The student movement in the South, and now in the North, and the events of the last five days in San Francisco, prove this and show that the student discontent is a world-wide phenomenon. The peace movement in the United States is on the upgrade. It is growing in size and scope. We need to see all of these developments and their interruptions in order to draw conclusions. (e)4

The growing instability in the world has increased effect on the United States, the very heart of world capitalism. Developments in the capitalist world show great instability. There is the rivalry of the two trade blocs in Europe. Germany is the leader of one bloc. Great Britain leads the other bloc. (e)4

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One will be defeated and die. The internal struggle in Germany, which has been postponed, will emerge, and the Summit will influence this, too. The United States is unable to take advantage of this struggle between the rival blocs in Western Europe because the economic situation in the United States is not too good either, despite the glowing figures. The economic situation in the United States is not too stable, as can be seen in the reports on the steel and auto industries which were made at this meeting of the NEC. (e)4

The U-2 spy-plane incident took place in the context of this instability. This is the most massive self-exposure in history and it is not yet over. The United States is in an almost impossible situation, yet it continued to arrogantly announce that it will make U-2 flights on the date of the Summit. The United States is in a terrible position and it put its allies in an almost impossible position as partners in crime. The United States will withdraw from this position. It will try to extricate itself. There has been an extreme reaction against this position of the United States, as shown in the many editorials in newspapers and magazines. The United States has never been in a situation like this before. I do not know if anyone has completely defended the United States regarding this position. Even reactionaries are not defending these acts. We know that the "New York Post," the "New Republic," NORMAN COUSINS in the "Saturday Review of Literature," and ALFRED STEVENSON in his Chicago speech on May 14, 1960, have not condemned, but, on the contrary, have exposed this position of the United States. (e)4

The reaction of the people is crucial because they can see in this spy-plane incident the danger of accidental atomic warfare. Also, there is a reaction throughout the world on the moral question. Who will believe us from now on? In regard to the Cuban-United States submarine incident, who will believe the United States now? Although the American people are bewildered, they are generally alarmed. The majority of the American people do not yet understand who the forces are who favor war. They do (e)4

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not understand the Dulles policy or the imperialist, aggressive nature of the United States Government (A)4

World reaction is very unfavorable to the United States. Only KONRAD ADENAUER can find words of agreement. The United States stands exposed as a double-dealing, lying nation. There is a growth of neutralism in the world and it will continue to grow. There is a possibility of withdrawal of nations from military alliances with the United States. In many countries, domestic consideration will require withdrawal from military entanglements with the United States. The world peace forces never had such an issue before. The balance of power scales have tipped in favor of the socialist states and are now weighted heavily in their favor. Or to state it another way, the capitalist world lost much and the socialist world gained very much in this shift. (A)4

We in the United States must be prepared for such sudden shifts as we have seen in the last week. More shifts will jar the balance of power and the world will not revert back to the old. Has this created a new world situation? It is not important that it be basically a new situation. We do not need a new analysis. Our old analysis still stands. The line of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA is still correct, and that which the world Marxist movement said about the world situation still stands also. But we do see in the making possibilities for a new situation. The current events only show a current development in the general crisis of capitalism. It is another step in a new turn. The United States is being challenged in a new world situation. The possibility for peace and co-existence increases, despite powerful war forces in the United States. Generally speaking, the United States is in a serious dilemma and is facing many contradictions. (A)4

Since 1946, the United States has been involved in the cold war and has been spying since that time. We can say that it began with the Fulton, Missouri, speech of Winston Churchill. Already at the San Francisco conference to establish the United (A)4

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Nations, imperialism planned a shift in its policy. Since that time, everything in the policy of the United States has been based on the cold war. All production, the entire economy, the budget, the national debt, and various alliances were based on this outlook--the cold war. Even ideology was based on this, and as John Foster Dulles once said, in order to retain this kind of an outlook, we need to put blinders on the people. We need tensions and brinkmanship to bind the people to this policy. Just like a balloon needs air to keep it inflated, the cold war needs tensions. (AU)

Then there are the counter-pressures. These are the socialist world, the peace forces all over the world and the resistance against burdens for war, such as taxes, etc. People begin to see the danger of nuclear warfare and the danger of the H-bomb. So, when you relieve tensions, it is like letting air out of a balloon. This explains the contradictions in the United States; that is, you release tensions and then you increase tensions. All of these things are signs of the general crisis of capitalism as we see it here in the United States. (AU)

Now, in regard to basic policy, is it wrong to put forth the idea of co-existence? Is it wishful thinking? The answer is that there is no room for such questions. The Soviet Union, because it believes in peace, always believed in co-existence. The Soviet Union's fight for peace has given it moral standing and prestige in the world unlike never before. The struggle for co-existence continues, even though there is an ebb and flow. We put emphasis on peace as the central issue. This is correct. If this current international situation proves anything, it proves we need more emphasis on peace. (AU)

The pronouncements of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CP, SU that war is not inevitable are not incorrect. The possibilities for peace are still great. We need peace movements to accompany this outlook. The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA rejected the idea that peace is here. We have to fight for peace. We rejected the concept of a national peace front. These incorrect ideas showed we could be wrong in (AU)

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regard to the differences which were being talked about in regard to the relations between the Soviet Union and China. (e)4

As a result of the current events, some people are already saying that the Chinese Communist Party is right and that NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV is wrong. We American Communists should not invent such differences. Let us remember that the United States does occupy Chinese lands and Chinese waters and is the aggressor. The United States is violating Chinese air space daily. I cannot keep track of the protests China has numbered in regard to these violations. China is not in the United Nations, nor is it recognized by the United States. What attitude should China take toward United States imperialism? The Soviet Union is in a different position. The Soviet Union is in the center of things and can command and lead the fight for peaceful co-existence. This does not mean that the Chinese and the Soviets differ on the world situation. Maybe they have some differences on some internal problems. Maybe the Soviet Union does not see the Communes as the Chinese see them. Most of the Marxist world may not fully understand the Chinese Communes. I personally would have to be educated and shown. Maybe with a better understanding of Chinese conditions, I would more clearly grasp some of the internal problems of China, but we reject speculation about differences between the Soviet Union and China. Nothing good can come out of such speculation. (e)4

Now here are some central conclusions. We have to struggle for peace. We have to take a fresh look at the peace movement. This problem has already been discussed in the Secretariat. Peace is now on the upgrade. We see the beginning of a series of joint actions developing on the peace front. New forces are asking for international law, no nuclear tests, and hands off Cuba. In regard to Cuba, we must point to United States policy and show how it endangers the peace of the world and not merely Cuban independence. (e)4

There must be more exposures of the war forces. We must expose the danger of the war atmosphere which has been created. We must condemn war atmospheres and show how they can breed (e)4

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accidental war. (A) 4

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We should expose the open-sky plan and the open-societies plan. If there is genuine disarmament, there is nothing to inspect. In the peace movement generally, we must push for more united action. We should be building grass-roots organizations for peace. We must look into the possibility of establishing shop peace committees. It may be possible to set up a national peace letter. Such a letter is needed now and it might emanate from Washington. (A) 4

We should raise the need for more demonstrative actions, such as marches, picketing, etc. We should keep an eye on the Summit. New issues will arise. Peace emerges as a crucial issue of the elections. It may be necessary for us to expose the bases of the two old political parties again. We need to raise to a new level the idea that only a peace movement of the people will preserve the peace. We cannot leave this to the government alone. (A) 4

On the war danger, the Summit meeting will dramatize the question of Berlin and Germany as the real issue. A serious situation can develop from the ADENAUER position if the United States sticks by it. We can also see danger resulting for Cuba in the policies of the United States. We should also keep in mind that there are also always scapegoats. The United States Government may want to take it out on us. So we should very realistically take note of the present situation. (A) 4

In regard to the Summit, many think that it may result in victories for peace and that there may be agreement on the ending of nuclear tests. There may be some compromise on the question of Berlin. The United States may have to retreat on some things. These are times for mass movements. The Communist Party, USA must not miss the bus. (A) 4

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[Remarks of JAMES JACKSON]

(C)4

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The speakers were limited to seven minutes each in the discussion period. (C)4

JIM JACKSON stated, the main problem is Berlin. How the United States will approach this problem will show whether it will make a contribution to peaceful co-existence. The United States might retreat on Berlin and use this as a diversion to intervene in Cuba. If this happens, there would be reaction in other parts of the world, such as Formosa and South Korea. The area for maneuvers by United States imperialism is very much restricted at this moment. (C)4

Someone from the back of the room shouted that the theory of JACKSON in regard to Berlin and Cuba is too schematic. (C)4

[Remarks of HERBERT APTHEKER]

(C)4

HERBERT APTHEKER stated that parliamentary democracy is in a crisis, particularly in Italy and in France. The American imperialists are spreading the idea that in the United States there is an open democratic society, as many editorialists say. Imperialists also say that it is this democratic society which hinders the United States. (C)4

APTHEKER stated that he would say that it is untrue that we have an open democratic society in the United States. Basic United States policy is made by the Security Council and the CIA, with no Congressional control. Furthermore, the Security Council and the CIA are not composed of elected representatives. There is an increasing absence of democratic procedures. We have to show that the United States has ties with such tyrants as FRANCO and ADENAUER. We have to show that there are people in the United States Government who still cling to the preventative war theory. We need to carry on a struggle against the CIA. (C)4

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[Remarks of JACK STACHEL] (a)4

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JACK STACHEL stated that in 1955, JOHN FOSTER DULLES said that there is no contradiction between the cold war and co-existence. The Soviet Union said just the opposite. The cold war cannot replace a real war. Co-existence does not mean the status quo. (a)4

American policy went through various evolutions. The cold war began in 1946 and up until 1950, the United States thought it had a monopoly on the atom bomb and was getting ready to take over the socialist world. A blueprint of this plan appeared in "Colliers" magazine. During the period between 1950 and 1953, the United States was practicing brinkmanship. In 1955, the United States had to go to Geneva after there was a shift in the relation of world forces and the world Marxist movement. (a)4

The Soviet Union has said that war is not inevitable. While war is not inevitable, peace is not inevitable either. So we have to be on guard. (a)4

[Remarks of JAMES ALLEN] (a)4

JIM ALLEN said, a shift has taken place in the position of the United States. The international position of the United States will influence the internal relations in our country. Labor is for the cold war. In order to consolidate their position, the monopolies have called for a Summit conference between labor and capital to solve economic problems on the home front. The central question in the fight for peace is the mobilization of labor. We have to address ourselves to this task. (a)4

[Remarks of CLARENCE HATHAWAY] (a)4

CLARENCE HATHAWAY stated that he agreed with the remarks of GUS HALL. He said that the Communist Party, USA should not go off on tangents or swing in this or that direction because of (u)

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current events. There may be success at the Summit, but the theory of JIM JACKSON is an approach which is too schematic. (44)

Remarks of IRVING POTASH (44)

IRVING POTASH spoke about the AFL-CIO conference on world affairs. He said, the positions of GEORGE MEANY and HARRISON are not new. This was probably the first time in the history of the United States that the trade union movement called such a conference. This was the boldest invention of JAY LOVESTONE, agent of the CIA. There have never been such bold challenges to MEANY as there were at this conference. Not even at the AFL-CIO conference in San Francisco was there such a challenge to MEANY. HARTNETT of the IUE, CURRAN of the Maritime Union, members of the Canadian delegation, even WALTER REUTHER, and, after the conference, EMIL MAZEY, expressed themselves as being against some of the propositions of GEORGE MEANY. (44)

Continuing POTASH stated, there are important under-currents against MEANY in the labor movement. Even the number of absentees from this conference proves this. Why was MEANY so bold at this time? He wanted to undermine the position of world labor on the concept of peaceful co-existence. POTASH stated that he would venture to say that the "New York Times" magazine supplement on the AFL-CIO conference on world affairs cost the AFL-CIO \$45,000 and that it will have greater circulation abroad than in the United States. MEANY also feared that the current for peace developing in the labor movement will undermine his hold on the labor movement and has become a threat to his leadership. This is why he called the conference on foreign affairs. (44)

The conference has opened up a debate on foreign policy in the AFL-CIO. We should encourage such a debate on the part of the Progressives and the rank and file and we should participate in this debate. "The Worker" should participate in this debate and in its writing keep its eye on the trade union people. A flyer on the AFL-CIO conference on foreign affairs is being prepared by "The Worker." (44)

[Action Taken on the Statement by GUS HALL
that the United States Is Exposed as a
Double-Dealing, Lying Nation]

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(et 4)

CARL WINTER, as the Chairman of this session, introduced a one-paragraph resolution which had been written by JACK STACHEL. This resolution pertained to the statement by GUS HALL, in his report, to the effect that the United States is exposed as a double-dealing, lying nation. The resolution would alter HALL's statement to explain that it is not the nation but the leaders of the United States Government who have been exposed as liars. (et 4)

HALL agreed with this proposal, as did all others present, except BEN DAVIS. DAVIS said the people must assume responsibility for the morality of the government and the nation as a whole. (et 4)

Continuation of the Discussion of HALL's Report

Remarks of GEORGE MEYERS

GEORGE MEYERS stated that what the people do will determine whether the wild, pro-war maniacs will be checked. MEYERS stated that when he left Baltimore, the papers were stating that the White House had received only five hundred letters in regard to the U-2 flights and that the majority of the letters were favorable. MEYERS said that this statement may or may not be true. (et 4)

Remarks of ARNOLD JOHNSON

After a word or two from BETTY GANNETT, ARNOLD JOHNSON said, we should call a conference and re-examine all of the peace problems. (et 4)

Remark of PHIL BART

PHIL BART stated that the main issue is Berlin and Germany. It will determine to what degree we are to have peace. (et 4)

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[Remark of WILLIAM WEINSTONE] (A) 4

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After a word or two from JIM WEST and MORRIS CHILDS, WILLIAM WEINSTONE quoted from Lenin to the effect that wars are prepared in secret. He said, we should raise the slogan that we want candidates elected who will honestly fight for peace. (A) 4

[Remarks of BEN DAVIS] 7 (A) 4

BEN DAVIS stated that he agrees that there is no need for a change in the line of the 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, USA, but some changes may be necessary. NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV characterized EISENHOWER as a man of peace. Now EISENHOWER is not a man of peace. (A) 4

[Remarks of CARL WINTER] 7 (A) 4

CARL WINTER cited examples of what he termed as immoral acts committed by the United States. WINTER listed the following: (1) The moving of Japanese Nationals from the West Coast of the United States at the outbreak of World War II; (2) The dropping of the A-bomb on Hiroshima; (3) The Smith Act trials; (4) Denial of integration and voting rights to Negroes in parts of the United States; (5) The American workers favor a little war because it gives them more employment. (A) 4

WINTER stated that the American workers participate in this immorality. The workers do not understand how some problems are related to their genuine self-interest. It is our job to show them what their genuine self-interest is. (A) 4

In concluding, WINTER stated that he sees advances in the struggle for peace as a result of the AFL-CIO conference on world affairs. (A) 4

[Remarks of EUGENE DENNIS] 7 (A) 4

EUGENE DENNIS stated that he agreed with the remarks of GUS HALL and with most of what was said during the discussion. (A) 4

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DENNIS said that he would not just refer to the shooting down of the U-2 as a spy-plane incident. It is bigger than that. The United States committed a hostile, military act. This was an aggressive effort to torpedo the Summit meeting. Undoubtedly, there were more flights in the past, but not across the heart of Russia. (et) u

Then DENNIS stated that at the Summit, some limited headway will be made. Prospects for the Summit have improved as compared with two or three weeks ago. The Soviet policy for peace stands out more clearly. Reaction to American aggressive acts in other countries and here help the prospects for the Summit. The issue of peace and peaceful co-existence should be the heart and center of our work. (et) u

DENNIS concluded by stating that he agrees with those who said that more stress should be put on the labor movement in the fight for peace. The issue of peace should be the pivotal point in the elections. (et) u

[Summary by GUS HALL] (et) u

GUS HALL stated that it was a good discussion for a collective body. The discussion of peaceful co-existence and labor's role in regard to it was good and he agrees with the comments which were made. (et) u

HALL said, the United States is on the defensive on many fronts. EISENHOWER is going to the Summit in a defensive mood. This might lead to some concessions. Democratic rights and peace go hand in hand. We should fight for democratic rights. On secrecy in government, there is a need to fight against it, but this has nothing to do with open-skies proposals that may be made by the United States Government at the Summit. (et) u

Disarmament is the key. Once you have general disarmament, you can have agreement on inspection, but not before. War plans are hatched and developed secretly, as WILLIAM WEINSTONE pointed out. (et) u

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HALL then stated that after the Summit meeting is over, he would favor a full-dress discussion on peace and the movement for peace in one of the leading committees of the Communist Party, USA, probably the NEC. One issue we must keep in the forefront is disarmament. The ruling classes will close ranks soon. They will find a balance. We should be prepared for this. (e) 4

HALL said he agrees with EUGENE DENNIS that the U-2 is more than a spy-plane incident. In regard to the nation being exposed for lying and double-dealing, it could be that he used the wrong word and he did not mean to. However, when people abroad think of the United States, they think of the American people as an image. We have to find ways to tell the American people that if they permit the warmakers to act in their name, people all over the world will have the wrong impression of us and will confuse us with our government. We, the people, also have a responsibility. (e) 4

[Motion to Adopt the Report of GUS HALL] (e) 4

A motion to adopt the report of GUS HALL on the international situation and the struggle for peace was adopted unanimously after some discussion of the motion. (e) 4

[Statement by BEN DAVIS on the Vote on the Report of HY LUMER on Education and Ideology] (e) 4

BEN DAVIS stated that with regard to the motions made on May 14, 1960, to adopt the report of HY LUMER on education and ideology and the report of JIM JACKSON on agitation and propaganda, he wished to go on record as voting for JACKSON's report, but abstaining from the vote on LUMER's report. (e) 4

[Letter of "Greetings" to the Northern California District] (e) 4

CLARENCE HATHAWAY introduced a draft of a letter to be given to DOROTHY HEALEY for delivery to the Northern California district. This letter sends the Northern California district (e) 4

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"greetings" for its activity in behalf of the mobilization against the hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in San Francisco. The letter urges the Northern California district to publish a leaflet containing an account of what happened in regard to the HCUA hearing in San Francisco--this leaflet to be suitable for national distribution. (A) 4

It was agreed to send this letter with HEALEY and also that "The Worker" should run a prominent story on the activities among students in connection with the HCUA hearing in San Francisco--this story to be printed as a flyer, as well as in "The Worker." (A) 4

Adoption of Remarks and Suggestions of JACK STACHEL on the Electoral Policy of the Communist Party, USA (A) 4

The remarks and suggestions of JACK STACHEL in regard to the electoral policy of the Communist Party, USA, which had been made on May 13, 1960, were adopted in the form of a motion. This includes the three aspects of the electoral policy of the Communist Party, USA, as enumerated by STACHEL. (A) 4

The idea of JIM JACKSON to use the 1960 election campaign to mobilize two thousand Communist Party members and sympathizers to give ten hours each week in order to visit people and also secure subscriptions to "The Worker" was adopted in principle, but referred to the Organization Bureau for the purpose of working out the details. (A) 4

A proposal to get at least ten Communist Party members to run as Congressional candidates in various states was adopted in principle, with the details to be worked out later. Wherever possible, these candidates should run in the name of the Communist Party. If it is not possible to run in the name of the Communist Party, then well-known Communists should run in the name of some other party. (A) 4

Mentioned as possible states where Communist Party members might run as Congressional candidates were: New York, California, (A) 4

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Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Washington, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. (e) 1

Decision to Launch a Publication for the Youth
to be Called "New Horizen"

DANNY RUBIN announced that a publication for the youth called "New Horizen" will be launched. The purpose of the publication is to make a contribution to the democratic youth movement in the United States. This paper will not be labeled Marxist, but will use a Marxist analysis on all issues. It will deal with all kinds of youth questions. (e) 4

RUBIN stated that "New Horizen" is only in the "springtime" now. Shoots are coming out and they need to be watered. It is hoped to launch the paper in September. Officially the campaign to raise \$7,000 for this publication will begin on June 1st and will continue to September. The paper will close the gap between the Left youth and the democratic youth. It has a number of adult sponsors. (e) 4

PHIL BART endorsed the idea of a paper for the youth and said he is helping to raise some of the money for this publication. An appeal is being made to former members of the Young Communist League to give a contribution of \$10 each. (e) 4

The NEC endorsed this project. GUS HALL urged an earlier publication date if it is possible. (e) 4

Report by IRVING POTASH on the HENRY WINSTON Campaign

IRVING POTASH made a brief report on the Henry Winston campaign. He said that there has been a letdown in the campaign in the United States. Some attorneys want to sue the United States Government. The charge would be cruelty and neglect which caused injury to WINSTON. WINSTON does not approve this type of legal action, since he thinks that it might distract from his campaign for amnesty or executive clemency. The attorneys feel that the bringing of legal action might help the campaign for executive clemency or amnesty. WINSTON will be (e) 4

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told that the decision in regard to legal action is not his to make. (et4)

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POTASH reported that a letter was received from Reverend MARTIN LUTHER KING supporting freedom for HENRY WINSTON. A letter has been sent to KING asking if KING's name may be used publicly. A reply to this letter has not been received as yet. (et4)

POTASH also reported that an appeal for executive clemency is before the President of the United States. PAT GORMAN, President of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen of North America, has received a letter from the White House. This letter stated that WINSTON's appeal is up for consideration and that the President will make a decision on the appeal. (et4)

POTASH stated that in contrast to the United States, there is a real campaign for freedom for WINSTON abroad. WILLIAM PATTERSON has spread the campaign around while he has been in Europe. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN carried material in regard to the campaign for WINSTON with her on her trip abroad. So the international campaign is rolling, but it is necessary to get the campaign underway in the United States once again. (et4)

Information Concerning GIL GREEN, ROBERT THOMPSON and HENRY WINSTON (et4)

CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT reported that word was received through the family of GIL GREEN that GREEN will not ask the United States Board of Parole for parole when he is next eligible. (et4)

The NEC members opposed the decision of GREEN, and an effort will be made to send word to GREEN that he should not make such a decision on his own, especially since he is in jail and does not have the benefit of a collective discussion. (et4)

GUS HALL remarked that BOB THOMPSON and HENRY WINSTON are pretty well informed on the political activities of the Communist (et4)

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Party, USA and both gave their consent to the main line and proposals adopted at the last meeting of the National Committee of the Communist Party, USA. (A) 4

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Adjournment

At this point, the enlarged meeting of the NEC concluded and was followed by an executive session of the NEC, which is being reported separately. (C) (u)

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